

TALES OF AURORA AND BODIE by HORACE MARDEN

Horace Marden's memories of his participation in the great gold and silver strikes of the nineteenth century were not published until 1915. His writings are in two parts: letters to W. A. Chalfant, the editor of *The Inyo Register*, of Bishop, California, and manuscripts published in that newspaper. Marden was then eighty-three years old. He died two days after the publication of his December 28, 1916 article. He had not been ill, simply died of a heart attack. He had already completed new chapters which related the everyday and "fast life" of Aurora and Bodie rather than the "strenuous life" he had detailed in his original articles. He had also begun to write up his early logging days in Siskiyou and Shasta Counties from 1890. Although these have been lost, they are known to have been written because Horace Albright read a few of these future publications when he visited his grandfather in San Francisco shortly before his death. Apparently his daughter, Mary Marden Albright, destroyed all his effects except his wallet and watch.

The following were edited by Horace Albright, rarely changed except for punctuation, to make easier reading. Several times a few words are missing entirely. More formal nineteenth century writing is indeed quite different from relaxed twentieth century. Most of the newspaper originals are preserved in a separate file. Others are pasted in the Mather scrapbook of 1915. Xerox copies of the originals are in little booklets, filed separately, or in files pertaining to Horace Marden or Gold Rush History.

LETTERS: HORACE MARDEN TO W. A. CHALFANT

San Francisco, October 21st, 1915 To the Editor of Inyo Register, Bishop, Cal.

Yours of the 18th inst. at hand. Perhaps I can give you a more correct history of Bodie from 1853 than most anyone. Many articles have observed in print are far from the facts in the case. Was in close touch with the Company from that date. From 1866 ran a small custom mill in Aurora until 1876 when I went to Bodie with Warren Rise who was the man that promoted the Syndicate Company. Assisted in repairing the old Empire Mill and had charge of the same until January 1st, 1877. During these years when running the custom mill in Aurora, worked many small lots of ore from that company. Had personal argumentations with the few men located in Bodie those years. Can give you much of the inside history of the purchase of the Standard Mine. Will say George Story procured the option from Essington and Lockbury. Also can give the history of the early period '63 when Stark and Tucker owned the same Bunker Hill property and put in order the mill on Bodie Canyon at that date, and also the history of later date, when the Empire Company wanted what was later known as the Syndicate. Also the same year a mill was erected known as the Home Stake. Also was conversant of the manner in which the Syndicate Mill came into the possession of that company. Colored man by the name of O'Hara figured in that transaction and much more data of these stirring times. Have attempted to write of the stirring times in Aurora should they prove of interest. You are at liberty to publish them. Also will later write the Bodie history should the early history of Aurora prove of interest. Will remark perhaps my reminiscences of these days may prove of no interest to warrant your publication. No doubt ere this you have received my first installment. If that should not prove acceptable, please notify me. Will discontinue the attempt.

Respect. yours, H. Marden

San Francisco October 23, 1915 To Editor Register, Bishop

Enclosed you will find another installment of the early days. Perhaps you may consider it early history of Aurora. Since sending you the first of the attempted series and, in writing the present, have about concluded am not qualified for that line of work. So many of these early day happenings cloud my memory. Hardly know what to indicate that will be of value and/or of interest. The two attempts I have made will leave to your judgement. You must, however, bear in mind yours truly was very busy in rustling to support a growing family and many things taking place those days of startling nature did not appeal to him. One other matter-much of the time, '63 to '66, was with the lumber company (*Bridgeport area*). My knowledge of the early events I gathered from visiting Aurora from time to time in the interest of my employer. Also much from parties visiting the mill daily. May be in error as to some dates. As I remarked you must be the judge as to their value. Shall not make any further attempt until have received from you an opinion in the premises. Respect. yours, H. Marden

San Francisco Oct. 29th, 1915 To Editor Inyo Register, Bishop California

In your issue of 21st inst. you mention the circumstance of the murder of Charles Robinson by Frank Schoonmaker. You made an error in stating he had his examination in Aurora and was turned loose. Had his examination in Bridgeport and then was turned loose. Was well acquainted with both parties. Was present when the news was told to Mrs. Robinson and remember well her reply. Robinson and Schoonmaker were returning from Bishop. Could perhaps make quite a story of that circumstance in the early annals of the old camp. Mono County, at that date, had but little, if any, funds and perhaps less credit-was the reason assigned for turning him loose. Will remark a very sad story. There are many sad stories, many tragedies in those days. Every once in a while someone publishes something they hear related. From that they produce a fairy tale with a small per cent truth. Perhaps at this late day as well to pass them. Witness Van Loon's story of the killing of Carder. The man who took him off was justified by the people of Aurora. I knew Carder well in the early fifties in Columbia, Tuolumne county. Was a printer and man of considerable ability. Much could be written of his somewhat eventful life, of some others also who figured in the early history of the old town. Hard work to narrate the early history of the town. Endeavor to the best of my ability to leave them out. No doubt will make some errors as to dates, etc. as I have no dates. Relying solely on my memory. Respect. yours, H. Marden

Will you please forward to my address four or five copies of the Register during the publication of the annals of Aurora and Bodie. I wish to forward to some of my friends in the East and elsewhere. At the conclusion of series send me the bill. Will remit. Much obliged. H. M.

San Francisco Nov. 1st, 1915 The Editor of Register

In writing the chronicles of Aurora, mention the names of parties who have known in Tuolumne County. There were many of the early citizens of that county at Aurora. I arrived in Columbia in that county in October, 1853. After mining about one year became engaged in the teaming business, freighting from Stockton to Tuolumne, Mariposa and Calaveras Counties. In a short time was in the forwarding and freighting business quite extensively. Came to know many of the early businessmen of

these counties. Will mention some few who no doubt are familiar- Seth G. Snedeen was under sheriff of Tuolumne; Garrison, a prominent merchant in those days; Charles Pearson. Of the early days of Aurora were L. B. Tinkum, Harry Smith of Twin Lake Mill Co., the Gamble Bros., A. Mark, William Witherill. He was chairman of the constitutional convention and many others who helped to make history of the early day period of Mono County and Aurora. One other who will refer to later-Uncle Billy, so called by the name of O'Harra (not an Irishman but a colored gentleman) who at one period of the history of Bodie was the capitalist of that celebrated town.

Respect. yours

H. Marden

**San Francisco Nov. 13th, 1915 To Editor of Inyo Register
Bishop, Calif.**

Perhaps the enclosed chronicles of the early day period of Aurora may not appeal to you as pertinent. There were many sides to the early day history to write of. All the tragedies and none of the other side of the picture would leave the impression was nothing but these occurrences prevalent. These days there were several tragedies that did occur during the days from 1866 to 1876 would not do to relate. However, you are the judge of what is proper to publish. You can omit whatever you choose. I wish, however, to relate what the conditions were and not leave the impression that the old town was simply made up of lawless elements and that was no good. Surely there were many noble men and women in that old town. Some of the most loveliest characters was my good fortune to meet and be associated with. Can say with truthfulness that some of my most happiest days of a long and strenuous life passed in the old town during the period 1866 until 1888.

One correction please note-should by chance incorporate any of my chronicles in your contemplated book, the Del Monte Mill was of forty stamps, twenty four amalgamating pans, twelve settlers to heavy stamps known those days as hog batteries of 1600 lbs.-each with a drop of about 30". In my former statement I wrote it twenty stamps. Can you correct it at any time during the publishing of the chronicles? Please do so. My old friend, R. K. Colcord, reminded me of my error. He was employed as a millwright during its construction. As was writing entirely from memory, hence the mistake.

Respectfully,

H. Marden

San Francisco Dec. 29th, 1915 To the Editor of the Register Bishop

One more chronicle will complete my effort to give something of the history of these days from 1868 to 1889. Have omitted general tragedies that took place these days as I saw no place to insert them while treating of the history of the town. There have been several mentions made of these-more particular of the taking off of Carder by Brockman and many things pertaining there to. Very few, however, were correct. Brockman was justified by the people of the town. The writer knew Carder well in the early days of Columbia, Tuolumne County, much of his history and more of his reputation. Also the circumstances leading up to cause of the tragedy, the taking off of Charlie Robinson at the Yellow Jacket Springs by Frank Schoonmaker. Knew both parties well, Robinson intimately such a whole soul and generous man. Also was present with Parson Yager when he informed Mrs. Robinson of the tragedy. Listened to her reply. There were also 1864 another when the Beard boys, so called, started to Bridgeport on the fourth of July to play for a dance. Caught in a water spout or cloudburst near the half

way house. Two women and three children perished, team of four horses and wagon destroyed-all of which might be pertinent to these early days. Should you so consider it, inform me.

Respect. yours H. Marden

San Francisco June 26th, 1916 To Editor of Register Bishop, Calif.

Yours of the 28th received, thanking you for your flattering acknowledgment of my efforts to write these reminiscences of Aurora. Will, in the future, attempt those of Bodie as soon as I can interview C. B. Donnelly of Oakland as to some events prior to my arriving at Aurora. The early day period of Bodie and Bridgeport (then Big Meadows) were closely identified at that period. One can hardly segregate them. My chronicles of Bodie, however, will treat of the different attempt made to open up those mines and the Bodie boom, so called. Will not attempt to treat of the fast life and many of the happenings during that period. My associations were with the strenuous life pertaining to the business end of these days as the nine years from 1876 on to the now seem much as a dream and my days and many nights were very full of these stirring times. Have failed to receive copies of the Register of January 6th & 20th. Should you have any, please forward me copy of each if not too much trouble. Would like to have my file complete if possible.

Respect. H. Marden

ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN INYO REGISTER
BISHOP, CALIFORNIA 1915-1916

OUTPOSTS OF CIVILIZATION
SKETCHES OF EARLY DAY CAMPS, PEOPLE AND HAPPENINGS
by Horace Marden

1 - ISOLATION OF THE REGION, PREVALENCE OF RED LAW

JUNE 10, 1915

This series is a by-product of the compiling of the *Story of Inyo*, heretofore published in this paper. During the gathering of that material, more or less was incidentally collected about the mining camps with which this county was in touch during the pioneer period. Then, a road was whatever a team had dragged a vehicle and journeys were made by team and counted in days; now, there are smoother highways, and the auto covers the distance in hours. In spite of difficulties of travel, community relations were closer. As much expense, as much time, and more discomfort were involved in a trip to San Francisco than now in a journey to Chicago. The proportionately greater distances to larger centers established a closer bond between the outposts of civilization east of the Sierras.

So far as it goes this history is authentic; its authorities being Angell's *History of Nevada*, newspapers of the time, personal interviews and correspondence with those who had lived some of the life they wrote. Among the letters are some from a man who helped guard Sheriff Francis, of Esmeralda, while officer and guards together watched John Dailey and his fellow cutthroats swing into eternity with the active and efficient encouragement of Aurora's vigilantes. Those letters came to the editor years ago from their author, with injunction against their publication while he lived. He has since passed beyond human vengeance, even if his fears were justified, and the seal of secrecy is broken-but his name shall remain unwritten.

This will not be a pastoral tale: far from it. It is a story of the wild and woolly, in which one of the most striking facts of the shocking cheapness of human life. Some of the camps left little record except their crime stories. In every one the smear of blood is part of the history, and not a feature selected by preference for reprinting. Colt and Bowie were the common arbiters in serious disputes, and Judge Lynch sometimes decided against the survivor. Conditions were the same on both sides of the State line, and an idea of those conditions is afforded by this concrete statement of Nevada's homicide record:

Homicides in Nevada, 1859 to 1880: 402 (A partial list only.)

Murderers legally hanged (same period): 8; Suicided 3

Lynched: 13

Sent to the penitentiary: 23

Acquitted or discharged: 39

Not called to account before any court whatever: 316 out of 402

Think of that!

The law was not absent: it was paralyzed. Public sentiment was free and easy, but not to the point of

approving such conditions. All classes of men-and women-flocked to each new 'excitement.' In the crowded stages the honest adventurer rubbed elbows with the pariah. The camps were welcome havens to outcasts for whom other places had grown unhealthy, or who wanted to reach some place from which the led had been lifted and thrown away, or rather, for which no lid was ever made. So while every camp had a majority of sound men-else the parasites, requiring healthy food, would not have gone-yet the derelicts were there in plenty.

Populations changed and shifted, and a trial deferred a month might lack every important witness, perjured evidence aplenty was his for the asking.

And not the least item, men of character were reluctant about testing the "gang" promises to "get" them if they appeared in court against one of the crew.

However sound an officer's intentions, it took better leather than they generally displayed in coping with such conditions. They were virtually helpless.

A final consideration was that most of the affrays were between 'bad men.' The more fatal the occasion proved for them the more the country gained.

In a few cases, law-abiding citizens were driven to extinguishing shining lights of thugdom. Sometimes self defense was clear. Of the others, very many were atrocious murders.

In time, the better citizenry would conclude that the limit of endurance had been passed. A housecleaning would follow, and the surviving or less villains took themselves to other parts, either voluntarily in advance of vigilante invitation, or quickly after receiving it. Such thunderstorms improved the moral atmosphere effectively for awhile.

This it to be said in extenuating the vigilance committees.: In every instance where an outraged public sentiment went beyond the law, the offense thereby punished merited the extreme punishment; and further, experience with inefficient courts had shown the hopelessness of expecting justice through them. A heinous offense like horsestealing might win its just reward, but a comparatively simple affair, such as murder, was merely a matter of a lawyer and a few witnesses, or mayhap only a change of scene. The vigilantes served to readjust such notions.

This somewhat lurid introduction merely points out a peculiar condition of society, rather than indicates the nature of articles to follow.

2 - AURORA, A CAMP CLAIMED BY TWO JURISDICTIONS; ITS DISCOVERY

JUNE 17, 1915

Close to the Nevada-California line, southeast of its sharp angle in the sparkling blue of Lake Tahoe, stands Aurora. A new youth has come to it after many deserted years, but its reincarnation will never produce the fervid days of its first existence in the sixties.

Those were years of Indian warfare and strenuous pioneering in Inyo county, and, during the period, Aurora was Owens Valley's nearest neighbor of size or importance.

The camp occupied a unique position. The inter-state boundary was disputed from Tahoe south as it was from there north. Further towards Oregon the uncertainty brought about what was known as "the Honey Lake war", in which the dispute caused bloodshed in a veritable battle before the State authorities gave enough attention to it to seriously seek a settlement. At Aurora more complications

arose, but no bloodshed. California claimed jurisdiction and created Mono county with Aurora as its seat of government. Nevada claimed it and made Aurora the county seat of Esmeralda county. Beside being the official headquarters of two counties, in different states, the same town sent representatives to the Legislature of each State. In 1863 Timothy N. Machin was elected to the California Assembly to represent Tuolumne and Mono counties, and was elected Speaker of the Assembly. In the same year, Dr. John W. Pugh was elected to the Nevada Assembly from Aurora, and he was chosen as presiding officer of that body. Thus was created the singular fact of the Assemblies of two different jurisdictions being presided over by men from the same town, elected by substantially the same voters, and neither legally entitled to his office, in all probability, because of having been chosen by an electorate of whom few were legally qualified to vote.

Our introductory article discussed the prevalence of crime in that unsettled period. This camp averaged, for three years, a killing every six weeks, according to the record-which is admittedly incomplete. Affrays from which the wounded recovered were too unimportant to be written in the annals while comparatively petty crimes, such as robberies and the like, flourished in the usual proportions. As in Virginia, with its 601, and San Francisco, with its Vigilance Committees, the better citizenship finally wearied of the reign of knife and pistol, deliberately organized and struck quickly and effectively for a new order of things, destroying an organized gang whom the pitifully weak law had not discommoded in any degree.

But let us begin at the beginning.

Esmeralda District anti-dated the organization of the Territory of Nevada, and its name was strongly urged as the designation for that Federal subdivision when it was established.

J. M. Corey and James M. Braley, residents of San Jose, Cal. were attracted to Washoe in the spring of 1860 by the recently discovered bonanzas in that region. Their exploration in the neighborhood of Virginia was unfruitful, and they wished to seek new fields. The Indians were turbulent and dangerous, however, and they did not venture from the mining settlements until July of that year. East of Virginia, in what was known as Sullivan district, they fell in with E. R. Hicks, who had prospected southerly from Oregon to that point. Silver mines were sought by all. The three men having no restrictions on freedom or action, formed a company to prospect, agreeing to travel as far south as Mexico if they did not succeed sooner.

Striking southerly, they followed the Pine Nut range of mountains to the West fork of Walker river, thence easterly and along a zigzag course as far south as Mono lake. Bodie, Masonic and El Dorado districts had been discovered and Monoville was on the uncertain maps.

Though work was being done in these districts, the travelers did not tarry, but went on to the rugged chain west of Walker lake. Not finding anything there, they determined to go on to the recently discovered Coso mines in (now) Inyo County.

In order to get a more extensive view of the country, they ascended a high peak, later known as Mr. Corey, spied out their projected route, and began what promised to be a fearful journey through the arid and uncharted Great Basin. Before they had gone far, want of water compelled them to deflect toward the west. Coming upon a spring in a depression in steep hills, they camped for the night.

In the morning Hicks, who appears to have been more hunter than miner, took his rifle and set out

after game. Passing over a height, afterward named Esmeralda hill, he noticed the peculiar appearance of the numerous quartz ledges and broke off some pieces. His companions in camp were better versed in mineralogy, and at once believed the blue streaks in the ore to be sulphurets of silver. A test proved that the white metal was presented in large proportions. With such a prospect all idea of going further was abandoned. Explorations discovered many veins, all more or less impregnated with precious metal.

With more moderation than is apparent in most such instances, they took up but seven claims. The spot from which Hicks broke his first piece of ore was on the Winnemucca claim, near the crest and on the west slope of Esmeralda hill. This was on the 25th of August, 1860.

The young men hastened to Monoville with news of their find. Five days later, twenty persons returned with them. A mining district was laid out, covering an area ten miles square. Esmeralda, the Spanish word for emerald, was suggested by Corey as the district's name and was adopted.

Supplies of the ore and news of the discovery soon reached Carson and Virginia, and the rush began. Before winter set in every outcropping ledge was taken up. No distinctive name had been adopted for the mushroom tent settlement, the whole region being referred to as Esmeralda district. Later comers pitched their tents on a flat at the head of the canyon, and the advantages of that site, then named Aurora, were so evident that before long the whole population moved there. The winter was severe, but in spite of its inclemencies and the poor protection of tents and crude huts, people continued to arrive.

H. M.

3 - AURORA'S MINING HISTORY - PRODUCTION SIXTEEN MILLIONS JUNE 24, 1915

For convenience, we outline the mineral, political and sociological history of Aurora separately instead of according to the strict order of event. Following out the usual rule that solid facts are often forgotten while exciting incidents of minor consequences are remembered, less information is available about the mining life of the camp than about its other features.

The discovery of Hicks, Corey and Braley (pronounced Brawley), as already narrated, was followed by a rush of large proportions. Locations were made on every outcrop, good or bad. Many proved to be good, and for three or four years there were large yields from the Real Del Monte, Wide West, Antelope, Crocket, Lord Byron, Juniata, Utah, Winnemucca, Lady Jane, Esmeralda and other mines. No time was lost in the erection of the first mill, *The Pioneer*. It was put up by Green, Culver & Jackson, and its eight stamps, steam driven, began dropping in June following the opening of the camp. It was located in Willow Springs gulch, and its cost was \$25,000, of which a considerable part went for freight. Eighteen others, ranging in size from 4 stamps to 30, were built within the next two years. Within three years from the discovery 150 stamps were dropping on Aurora ores.

The Del Monte, 30 stamps, Antelope, 20 stamps, and Wide West, 20, were brick structures with tinned roofs. The Wide West was near the foot of Last Chance hill, on which the mine of that name was situated. The Del Monte, close to Bodie Creek, received its ore over a two-mile toll road. It was moved to Bodie in the later '70s and, as part of the Standard equipment, continued its record of large bullion production. Its neighbor on the creek was the Antelope mill, also receiving ore by the toll road. John Daggett, later Lieutenant Governor of California, was its superintendent during part of its career.

The Bodie 10-stamp mill, built for custom work, handled many tons of ore from Bodie District. Coffee, Fogus, and Winters each had mills, among the large number.

Mark Twain, in "Roughing It", notes some of his experiences in mining in Aurora, including how he and his friend Higbie barely escaped becoming millionaires. Every camp offers such examples, and Mark was not the only person in Aurora who "just missed it." Here was one instance of the sort: A prospector started a tunnel on the hill near the Wide West, and, after spending some time on it, gave up the undertaking as profitless. Another party located the ground. In the tunnel roof was a large boulder, dangerously loose, and a second locator put a sprag, or brace, under it to prevent accidents. Again the hole was abandoned, and a third party came in. One of its members was Oscar Dearborn, whose sons are now resident of southern Owens Valley. The sprag looked insecure, and another timber was cut to replace it. Mr. Dearborn, who was a powerful man, held up the rock while the change was being made. No ore was found, and once more the claim was open to relocation. The next comers knocked away the sprag and let the boulder come down. From a pocket just over it they took out \$60,000 in a very short time. Mr. Dearborn used to say that he would have been a rich man if he had not been so strong.

Aurora was a camp that paid from the grass roots down. The deepest working in it was the Del Monte shaft, only 94 feet down. The Wide West production came from a blanket of ore less than 50 feet underground. It was followed as it diminished in thickness, until it became a half inch seam dug out by men lying down with barely room to scoop out the richness with a pickerbar. The other claims were similar in character. The big money came from rich ore; that of lower grade did not pay to work by processes then in use. By the end of 1861 the known deposits of good ore were well out, and no new discoveries were made. The camp began to diminish in importance.

California's State Mineralogist then examined the district, and, in 1868, published a report concluding that a belt of barren quartz was underneath the mines; that gold decreased and silver increased as this was reached; the water level was in the quartz, and that, in all probability, rich silver ore would be found by deeper work. In the middle '70s Bodie's richness, together with the recommendations of the mineralogist, caused a fresh effort to be made in Aurora. The Real Del Monte Company was incorporated in October, 1877, with control of the formerly important Del Monte, Wide West, and other ground, and a three compartment shaft was started, with the intention of sinking to 1,000 feet deep.

Water was struck at 20 feet below the 300 feet level, and a small Cornish pump was installed to take care of it. At 500 feet the water flow was too great for this pump to handle, and a 16" Cornish pump, the largest on the coast at that time, was put in. Sinking continued, with a constant increase in the volume of water. At 700 feet the predicted barren quartz was found. At 800 feet more water was found, and at 880 feet its amount became too great for the pumps to handle. George L. Albright, now of Bishop, was in charge of timbering operation in the mine. After a blast in the 880 level, he loaded onto a cage the timbers necessary for a station at that point and went down with the load. As he came to the bottom the cage was submerged and the passengers went into water waist deep. He signalled for the pump to speed up, but, as no improvement followed, he went to the top and told the foreman of the situation. They went down together, and, by that time, the shaft was so filled that the cage went clear under water. The engineer at once noted something wrong and raised them to the 800 level. At that

point they aided the miners in getting out the Burleigh drill and tools, and, before they had finished, the rising water reached the floor of the level. A car is still in the mine with 500 feet of water above it in the shaft.

The work in progress at this time at the 800 level was a prospecting drift, also one to tap the Juniata ground. All this work was abandoned, necessarily.

A survey was then made for a tunnel, starting at what was known as the Lime Kiln, to tap the Del Monte at 1,000 feet depth, but for reasons best known to the management no further work was done.

About this time the Cortez Company, an eastern corporation, commenced operations on the Cortez mine, on Silver hill. Considerable high grade ore had been taken out through its tunnel in early days. William Poole, a miner, discovered a new ledge of very fair milling ore in it and sold his relocation to the company, organized as a result. This corporation took out some ore, under the superintendency of Judge Wells, and milled at the rebuilt Antelope mill, managed by ex-Governor Blaisdell, and located two miles down the canyon. The ore deposit proved to be more pocket than ledge, for like the early-day discoveries, it did not go down. No other discovery of any value was made, and the company ceased operations.

Up to 1880, the total output of the camp was estimated at about \$16,000,000. In that year, a population of about 500 still remained there, and seven saloons, four stores, a hotel and a newspaper represented the chief business industries. During the work of the late '70s about 250 men had found employment, either for the company or otherwise.

Little has been done there for thirty years until recently. It has never been held, however, that the hills have been stripped of all their wealth. At this time large investments have been made, and there is a milling plant such as would have been the talk of the mining world had it existed during the flush times. Prospects are said to be good, and the old camp may yet produce abundantly.

Having briefly surveyed the mining history, the next article will take a long jump backward to an earlier period of Aurora's life. H. M.

4 - AURORA'S EARLY MILLS - UNPROFITABLE LENIENCY - WARTIME HAPPENINGS OCTOBER 28, 1915

The first quartz mill erected in Aurora was by a man by the name of Edmund Green; it was known as the Green Mill. This was in the fall and winter of 1861. Its location was in Wide West gulch, near the Wide West mine. The man who ran the engine was C. ? Donnelly, afterward of Bodie, now living in Oakland. It was what was known as a Huntington mill, eight stamps located in a circle. James Meredith, later postmaster at Aurora, was a man who fed the battery, and he has several times told me of his experiences in that work. There were no amalgamating pans. Quicksilver for amalgamation was introduced into the battery, the custom being to feed in the quicksilver until it began to appear in the copper plates in front. None appearing, he kept turning it in. Shortly the screens became clogged, nothing coming through, and the stamps would not strike the dies. On hanging up the stamps, the battery was found to be so full of amalgam, so dry and hard that pointed implements were required to dig it out. As Donnelly expressed it to me a few days ago, the cost price of crushing ore at that date was fifty dollars a ton. Later the mill was purchased by the Wide West Company.

The fairy tales of Montrose about wooden stamps and arastras fade from view. In all of my experiences in and about Aurora, I never saw or heard anything denoting those "wooden stamps mills."

In the spring of '63 there were in Aurora: the Green Mill idle: a brick mill known as the Wide West, 20 stamps, 40 pans, running: the Union mill at the lower end of town, 8 stamps running on custom ore; down the Aurora canyon, the Napa mill, idle; just below that the Cooper mill, 4 stamps, idle; still further down a mill known at that time as the Antelope mill, running on ore from the Antelope mine, Silver hill. Still farther down the canyon was a 10 stamp mill undergoing repairs, introducing amalgamating pans, etc. for the purpose of working ore from Bodie; it was known later as the Stark & Tucker (will tell of it later) and after the run on Bodie ore it was purchased by the Del Monte Company. On Winters Flat, northeast of town, was the Winters mill of 20 stamps, a large number of amalgamating pans and two large reverberatory furnaces for roasting ore, not running at the time, but started later during the summer.

Contemplating the cost of erecting mills of that date. The man who put up the Winters mill was one of the Winters of early Comstock days. Lumber at \$80 to \$100 per thousand for freight from Folsom to Aurora. Late in the fall of 1862, Winters paid, to my knowledge, 14 cents a pound to Sprague Chase and others of my acquaintances who had ox teams.

About the time of my arrival a man by the name of Fogus completed a 10 or 15 stamp mill, about one-half mile down the canyon from my own. It was constantly employed on custom ore until the fall or winter of '64 and '65, when it was sold to the Empire Company and removed to Bodie. There it was later known as the Syndicate. More of that later.

During the summer of '63 there was erected in Aurora the Del Monte mill of 20 stamps, heavy batteries for breaking ore, and the requisite number of pans, settlers, etc. The building was of brick, 80 feet wide, a self-supporting roof covered with tin-would remind one of some vast and imposing building other than a quartz mill. The engine installed was a massive walking beam engine of fine finish; the Miner's Foundry of San Francisco had the contract for erecting it. \$290,000 was the reported price: from the cost of material of all sorts at that date would not doubt that it was about the proper figure.

Robinson, of the Robinson mill, Big Meadows, had the contract for the lumber at \$80 per thousand delivered. Blocks for the Hoy batteries were 36 inches square, ten feet long, furnished by the Twin Lakes Mill Co. on Robinson's account. At an advance rate, the girders for the self-supporting roof, four or five in number, were hewn and floated down the lakes, and then transported by ox teams. They were about 90 feet long, 12 inches square. A well known wit, teamster for the Twin Lakes Co., referred to them as gospel rods.

The contract price for freighting the machinery from Folsom was 9¢ a pound. Six dollars per day, and up, was the wages of millwrights, \$3.50 to \$4 for common labor. Contemplate the number of men employed in making brick and all other requirements, and you may arrive at the magnitude of the job.

The Antelope mill, on the opposite side of the canyon, was of the same type, but a somewhat smaller building. That, also, was erected in the fall of 1863.

During the summer of 1863 there was a large amount of building in the town-will mention the Wingate building, the Molineaux, John Neidy, a store on the corner adjoining the Molineaux building, a

large building on the opposite side of the street, later purchased by the county for the courthouse, and many others-the parties who erected them have passed from my mind. One other was Van Loon's famous Cobb hotel, which was erected by a Slavonian and was known as the Exchange. I have cause to remember that one in particular, for the Twin Lakes mill furnished the lumber, paid \$30 gold per thousand for transportation, and was forced to file a lien. The next summer, '64, when the company foreclosed the lien, it was paid in greenbacks at 33 cents on the dollar. Is it to be wondered that the poor old Twin Lakes Lumber Co. went broke? By the way, that was not the only lumber company that fell by the wayside.

Some personal experiences of these days and times: The roads were lined with six ox teams. As there were no accommodations on the road from the mills to Aurora, the teamsters camped by the roadside and cooked their own grub. My usual traveling from the mill at Aurora was done in the night; after doing a day's work, leaving the mill astride a very diminutive mule-a jim dandy, by the way- and ride that 30 miles. On my way was sometimes hailed about midnight by some one who knew my habits. While I would dump into his blankets and take a short snooze the teamster would make a cup of coffee and cook me something warm. I can, at this writing, almost taste that coffee and bacon, and often a beefsteak.

Up above Bridgeport two high bluffs nearly closed the canyon. The teamsters often strung their log chains across the canyon to prevent their cattle from going down the road to the Big Meadows. Returning from Aurora one night, thinking no harm of any man, my little mule struck that barrier. It is hard to relate which was the more surprised, the mule or yours truly. It might have been somewhat sulphurous in that vicinity about that time, and, after imbibing some of Jim's oh-be-joyful, I proceeded on my way.

Two more mills were erected in '64; one on Gregory Flat, later moved to Bodie, the other in the Bodie Canyon just above the Stark & Tucker, known as the Durant mill. The latter ran but a short time when it was burned and later was moved to Palmetto district.

In '63 and '64, and prior to that time, there were in Aurora many who favored the Rebellion. Many were very outspoken and there were many threats. It was at one time considered that the element predominated. Two military companies of Union men were formed, one of infantry and one of cavalry. They had their armory in the basement of John Neidy's building. Their arms were furnished by Governor Nye. The majority of the men composing the armies kept their arms in their cabins. Many of the old cavalry sabers were kicking about the camp until I left that part of the country. A man by the name of Teel was the captain of the cavalry company.

At the time President Lincoln was assassinated it so happened that I was in Aurora on one of my pilgrimages arriving there some time Saturday night. Well do I remember that Sunday morning. A man named Judeigh with his wife kept a lodging house just opposite the Exchange, a very tall man, who usually wore a plug hat. He was very outspoken and made some remarks that did not meet approbation of many. They were reported by wire to Fort Churchill, down on the Carson. By wire the post commandant ordered his arrest, instructing that the oath of allegiance be administered to Judeigh. If he would not subscribe to it, he was to be sent to the fort Sunday morning shortly after sunrise. It was observed that Teel's men were heading for the armory, one or two at a time. Shortly they appeared,

with Teel at their head. They proceeded to the lodging house and arrested Judeigh. Where Antelope and Pine Streets crossed there was a flagstaff. Old Glory was always in evidence those days. Well do I remember the sun just coming up over Last Chance hill that bright morning and its rays on the flag as the militia arrived and formed a hollow square around the flagstaff, with Judeigh inside the lines. Captain Teel informed him of his orders. Mr. Judeigh was quite indignant and declined to take the oath. His wife arrived on the scene about that time. Captain Teel informed him what he might expect at the fort. With this information and the entreaties of his wife, he consented. He appeared to me to be the tallest man I ever saw. When he raised his hand, it appeared to me it reached half way up the flagstaff. At that time it was no funny business for one to be sent to Fort Churchill. A 50 lb. sack of sand would be placed on a prisoner's back and, with it, he marched up and down the parade ground with a soldier with a fixed bayonet to prod him if he lagged.

H. MARDEN

5 - COFFEE'S MILL - HARD WINTER FOR AURORANS - MINING EXPERTS OF OLD NOVEMBER 11, 1915

A miner by the name of Coffee erected a mill in Aurora in 1863. He later added a small quartz mill which, while a miniature, was perfect in its equipment. It had 2 four-stamp batteries; weight of stamps 200 lbs. each; 4 amalgamating pans, 2 eight feet in diameter, 2 five feet-usual proportion. It was a most complete mill, capable of reducing three tons of ore each 24 hours. In 1866 the writer was employed by Coffee to run the mill, work in the pattern shop of the foundry, and attend to his books. Surely the job looked good after my experience in feeding on the husks of the fag end of the lumber business. From that date until 1876 the mill figured much in the history of Aurora. Wells Fargo's books from 1869 to 1876 showed shipments of bullion of \$40,000 to \$70,000 per annum. Besides, much to my knowledge was taken out by individuals. Some small amounts of the ore came from Bodie, and some of the bullion from ore from the Bunker Hill, Bodie, reduced in arrastras on Rough Creek by Mooney, Walker, Lockburn and Essington.

The winter following the closing of the Winters mill was in my judgment the worst and most trying time in the history of the early days of the camp. One can hardly conceive the condition; absolutely no employment for anyone. Snow on the ground, weather boisterous. No one could sort over the old workings: credit denied by most of the merchants -surely the wolf stood gazing at more than one door.

Prior to this period Montgomery, Benton, Columbus and Silver Peak had been discovered and were attracting some attention. Many with no families migrated to those localities. Owens Valley attracted others. Bishop and Round Valley absorbed some few of the families. The population became reduced in consequence to two hundred voters, sometimes less, until the county seat was removed.

In the spring of '68 the snow disappeared. Those who were left woke up and took stock of the conditions by which they were surrounded. It being the county seat the county officials and the bar were an asset. Sessions of the court brought many to the town. All machinery for the camps east and south was shipped from Folsom to Aurora on mule teams, then transshipped to its destination on ox teams. A mail contract had been let for a service each week to Independence. All this brought business to the town. The postoffice was a distributing office. The postmaster did a flourishing business forwarding the newspapers and periodicals to the outside localities south.

Many buildings were dismantled and sent to those places. A large number of brick was forwarded to Silver Peak for the erection of roasting furnaces, alot of which assisted in retaining Aurora on the map.

During that winter an incident happened that put heart in what few miners remained. A man by the name of Arnold, a peculiar and somewhat eccentric man, went into the Johnson chamber, so called, of the Wide West mine during the stormy weather. In scratching around the walls he discovered a stringer of ore an inch or so in thickness. He proceeded to investigate possibilities. It opened out to three or four inches, and he continued operations all by himself until he had a few tons of ore. One day in the early spring he came to the little mill and reported that he had some ore he wished to have reduced, 10 or 12 tons. At that date the mill was leased by the day, Coffee furnishing one man to run the engine and feed the batteries, the customer attending to the pans, breaking up the ore, and so on. Arnold considered himself capable of attending to that part of it, including the amalgamation.

In those days, during all my connection with the milling business, ore was never assayed, either by sample or after passing through the batteries to determine its value, The usual method of ascertaining value was to put a certain number of cups of quicksilver, weighed, into each amalgamating pan. After running one charge, a cup of quicksilver was drawn and weighed, and, from the amalgam it produced, the value was determined. Quicksilver was also introduced into the batteries.

On obtaining the usual amount of quicksilver from the first charge the result frightened Arnold who concluded he had made an error in his dope and ruined his prospects. He rushed up town for John Neidy who was the one expert supposed to know any and all things pertaining to the art of amalgamation. Neidy came down and inspected amalgam. After looking very wise and spitting on the ore to determine its value, as was the custom those days, he pronounced everything correct. The amount of ore was less than 13 tons; the amount of bullion produced was \$14,000. As quicksilver had been introduced into the batteries in working the ore, the millmen were forced to hang the stamps up to remove amalgam from the batteries every twelve hours. No doubt some may consider this a fairy tale. Turn back to Meredith's report of the early workings of the Green mill on ore from the Johnson chamber of the Wide West mine.

Arnold procured three or four small amounts of ore from stringers during the summer, and made his exit from the old town with something over \$20,000. To San Jose he hied, and later became a banker in that city.

In the early days of silver mining in Nevada there was no authority to guide one but a treatise on reduction of ore based on conditions as found in the Hartz mountains, Germany. Have studied them when I should have been sleeping. Might as well have studied the Talmud, as far as any practical information was obtained. It authorized the introduction of sulphate of copper, sulphite of iron, sulphuric acid and other acids, so many ounces per ton of ore: salt was also recommended. The result of those instructions was many failures to save the precious metals, consequently many men called themselves amalgamators. When someone by chance would happen to let the ore work itself by not getting much of anything in the pans, he became an expert. Some very peculiar combinations were invented; have observed large kettles of sagebrush steeping to furnish broth to introduce into the pans. In all that period, in and about Aurora, I never met an educated mining engineer, but many who claimed to be experts frequently made us believe they were. Will mention a couple of examples that came under my

observation.

A case was on trial in the U. S. court in Carson City. A man passing as an expert was on the stand. The opposing attorney commenced his cross examination by propounding the following: "Do you know what is considered a mining expert?" His answer was prompt: "A mining expert is a man who wears glasses, looks wise, and talks Dutch." Another instance: A man who drove an ox team on the Big Meadows in the early days went to White Pine country and later became a man of some note. He was put on the stand in the U. S. court. As an expert he was asked to please tell the jury the constituent parts of quartz. After some moments consideration he replied:

"Well, it is just quartz - any fool would know that!" H. Marden 2307 Pine Street, San Francisco (Mr. Marden writes that the year of his leaving Aurora was 1889, instead of 1879 as appearing in his first article.)

6 - AURORA BAD MEN - VIGILANTES - THE MYTH OF MARK TWAIN'S AURORA CABIN

November 18, 1915

During the boom period there were several attorneys who later became well known. Judge McKinstry, Crittenden, who later was assassinated on the Oakland boat, Judge Sewall, Judge Boring, who remained by the town during its decline, and others whose names have gone from me were there.

There were also two banks. One Harisha presided over the destinies of one, and, from that date on, the building was always occupied as a bank, and by Wells, Fargo's express office under different managements until the closing of the English company's operations in 1891. C. Novacoyich, now of Reno, was its last.

After the State line survey determined that the town was in Nevada, Esmeralda county came into existence. D. G. Francis was appointed the first Sheriff by Governor Nye; I do not call to mind the balance of the officials.

In February, 1864, the Vigilance Committee came into action. Prior to then the town had been full of hard and very tough characters. There were two factions. So long as they quarreled among themselves not much notice had been taken of them. Besides, all the fall and winter of '63 and '64 they had been employed by the mines on Last Chance hill as underground fighters. That sort of employment had about ceased by midwinter. Times were getting particularly hard for that sort of men. Consequently it became unsafe for one to be out much of nights-more particularly strangers should they appear to possess money. One Johnson, who had been proprietor of a hotel at Wellington station in the early part of '63 and who later located a ranch at Desert creek, came to town, with a load of produce. In the spring before, a man wearing the brand of "bad man" had come to the station on foot, bound for Aurora. As he came from the dining room, after eating his dinner, a horse was saddled at the door. It was the property of someone who still remained in the dining room. The man mounted the animal and hied himself up the road headed towards Aurora. A young man named John Rogers was attending to stage stock. Johnson furnished Rogers with a horse and instructed him to bring back the one stolen. Rogers overtook the man in the vicinity of Sweetwater, about half way to Aurora. He returned to Wellington with the horse; the man remained beside the road- and may still be there so far as my knowledge goes.

One John Daily claimed the man was a partner of his, and for that Johnson was assassinated, so

Daily asserted. No doubt the motive was robbery, as there were several others interested.

The following day notices were posted about town calling for a meeting of citizens to take some steps for protection. When the time arrived one William Carder mounted the steps of the courthouse and proceeded to call the meeting to order. The crowd, composed of gamblers and toughs, had proceeded to the meeting place and taken possession. They proceeded to pass resolutions making a farce of the proposition.

While this was taking place, the better citizens went to Armory Hall and organized. All the better element was included, attorneys as well. The two military companies, spoken of in a previous narrative, were still in existence. They immediately disbanded by the resignation of their officers, joined the vigilantes, elected their old officers and proceeded to the business in hand. They arrested many of the toughs and filled the jail. The town was put under martial law. During the time this was taking place a couple of the parties connected with the assassination of Johnson struck for pastures new. Sheriff Francis and posse arrested them near Mono Lake and returned with them to town where the committee took possession of them. There is no doubt Francis was much relieved although he made a great showing and was very indignant. He had no jail and a somewhat hostile crowd was in evidence. The prisoners were given a trial by a court composed of some of the best legal talent in the country and were condemned to hang. There was no delay during the trial and no appeal. Governor Nye was notified what was taking place in Aurora and at once started for there. Arriving at Wellington station he remained there over night, and in the morning telegraphed to Aurora to learn the condition of affairs before starting. It was, at that time, he received the famous dispatch, "Everything quiet in Aurora; four men to be hung in fifteen minutes." There has been some dispute as to the author of that dispatch. A Colonel Young, an appointee of Governor Nye and one of the County Commissioners of Esmeralda county, was a very officious gentleman-Governor Nye's nephew. The early day chroniclers say that Young sent it and I am sure that is right.

That brings to mind that no one who attempts to recite the early day chronicles of Aurora fails to mention Mark Twain's cabin. The fact is the Mark Twain never owned a cabin in Aurora. Bob Howland occupied a small house near the upper end of Main Street, where it forked; one branch to Wide West gulch was on the left hand side, nearly or quite opposite the residence of Judge Murphy. Bob Howland was something of a wag himself. Twain and one other stopped with him. Twain in his *Roughing It*, mentions B.H. R.R. Stewartson occupied the cabin for many years. There was a lean-to erected on the back, and that is the point to which in later years many have made pilgrimages and gazed at with open mouths. A small flagstaff which was on the building was removed by a couple of pilgrims who intended to make canes of the wood. Stewartson was promised a cane, but never received it. At the time the world's fair was held in Seattle, the papers published that a company had been formed to move Mark Twain's brick cabin from Aurora to the fair. Perhaps they learned there was no brick cabin in Aurora. It was my intention not to mention Mark Twain's cabin in my narrative; have gone and done it. Perhaps my reminiscences would not be complete without it.

One incident of the vigilante times: the writer was coming from the lumber mill and had heard of what was in progress in the town. Proceeding up the canyon from the Del Monte mill late in the evening, a man stepped into the road in front of the mule and, in a very commanding voice, with a

musket also, called a halt. My hat became somewhat elevated: surely the command was obeyed without argument. The man recognized me, informed me what was taking place in the town, and allowed me to proceed. I left the town prior to the execution. Will leave the reader to judge of my hasty exit. He might conclude "by order of Committee." If so, no objections.

H. Marden San Francisco, Cal.

7 - SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN AURORA DURING THE FLUSH TIMES OF LONG AGO

November 25, 1915

These early day chronicles should not omit the efforts of the churches to establish themselves. A church building was planned and partly completed in the summer of 1863 by the Methodists. It was of brick, planned on very elaborate lines. What was termed the vestry was completed; a roof was put on and plain wooden benches were installed. That was as far as it ever progressed toward being finished. The funds and labor were principally provided by one individual. While it was occupied for several years, it naturally fell into decay and was abandoned.

The Catholics laid the foundation for a building. When the time arrived for the laying of the corner stone, a procession marched with much pomp and ceremony to the location. In a tin box provided, coins, small bars of bullion donated by the miners, and many other articles, such as are usually deposited on such occasions, were, with many blessings, duly sealed and placed in the cavity for its reception. That was as far as the building ever progressed. During the hard times period, someone, without the fear of the Lord in his heart, removed the box. There is no question that he required what was contained therein for the purpose of purchasing a sack of flour.

In the spring of '63, when the streets of Aurora were full of building material, a very worthy man of the Methodist persuasion mounted a lumber pile on Antelope street one Sunday morning. A very respectful crowd was listening to him with attention, as he informed them of the many reasons why the proper road they should travel to reach the desired end was the good Methodist route. At the top of his voice he declaimed, "Go to the north you will find the Methodist thar; go to the south you will find the Methodist thar; to the east and west you will find them thar." Someone behind the lumber pile, sleeping off a jag, raised up on his elbow and, in the same tone of voice, exclaimed, "Go to hell, and you will find Methodists thar." The parson acknowledged the assertion and smilingly proceeded. He made the old town his home; assisted in the last rites of many of the old timers of the town, and himself passed out, much respected, in the eighties. During those early day periods he was for one term Superintendent of Public Schools of the county and Chaplain of the Assembly of the Nevada Legislature, a good old soul. (*George B. Hinkle is the Register' guess.*)

One other parson of the early day period, a Presbyterian, had one of the most pleasing personalities and most lovable characters it was ever my fortune to meet. He commanded the respect of all. The sporting fraternity were his special admirers. He mingled with them freely, and never chided or condemned them in public. In a mild and pleasant voice he would call their attention to other things. He was an inveterate smoker, and one could always detect the parson from the odor of his cigar. His sporting friends always provided him the the best brands obtainable. He always dressed in the correct ministerial garb of the best quality. When he observed one of the fraternity with a goodly stack of chips

or coin in front of him from winnings, he would quietly touch him on the shoulder and remind him of his good fortune: did he think he could donate something to the Master? Usually the reply would come, "Help yourself, parson." A ten, and quite often a double eagle would reach him. He faded from view early in the seventies.

Aurora in those days was not a very promising vineyard. There were many counter attractions; many gambling saloons; champagne was the draft of the thirst parlors when money was plenty and the mining excitement at its height. Many at the present day cannot realize the conditions.

One man during the early day period and during the early decline is deserving of mention. Many of the then younger generation remember him at this period and delight to relate some of their experiences during school days in Aurora. He was a graduate of the theological seminary, an ordained minister of the Methodist church, a man of many sides. Perhaps the word militant would express one side of his character; "muscular" another; and "combative" the third. His surely had all three well developed. He taught school, ran a restaurant, worked at anything that presented itself as a day laborer, was a famous cook, always employed but gave much for the advancement of the Sunday school. Many a child, during the lean times, was indebted to him for shoes and stockings and other raiment. He inaugurated a universal Christmas tree, where every child in town received a useful present in addition to a sack of candy and nuts, and subscribed liberally himself. Added to his other qualifications, he was a past master in the use of sarcasm. When he did resort to that, woe be to the victim whom he would approach for a donation. He made many a tightwad loosen up for many worthy purposes. He taught the public school during the winter and spring of '67 and '68. The average attendance was something over 60 pupils. There being two rooms in the building, he suggested that, for the smaller scholars, a young lady be employed to teach. Whether he did that with the consent of all or any of the trustees has passed from my mind. Some trouble arose as to who would pay the young lady, some claiming the teacher should do so, while others held the contrary. The feud waxed fast and furious, while parson was passive. The school closed with the question not settled. Shortly after, he advertised a lecture on education. He, being a man with something to say, Wingate's hall was filled to the doors. A fine lecture, replete with argument, a scholarly production, was given. During all of the delivery he never reverted to the school question. After closing his lecture, he mentioned the subject and suggested that a collection be taken. Voluntary contributions were plenty to pay the demand. He remained in the town until the late sixties, when he joined the conference and departed from the town with many friends and but few enemies.

A man in the spring and summer of '64 commenced a building opposite the Catholic church, designating it an opera house. It was of brick, two stories high. The ground room contained two rooms for stores. The second story was a large hall. The decline of the town had commenced prior to its completion. He finished it up, however. Being no mean performer on the violin and a teacher of dancing, when the hall was completed, he advertised to receive pupils and teach the graceful art. His very vivacious and active daughter was a valuable asset in the business. His hall was soon filled with classes and, for a couple of years, was quite successful. Once a week he advertised what he termed a *soiree dansant*. It was very amusing to observe some of the staid and elderly citizens with their white chokes and white gloves hieing to attend those functions. Among the many of the legal fraternity who

attended was one who in later life became a Judge of the Superior Court relates some of the experiences. Many, because somewhat disappointed perhaps, would designate them as sore eyed dansants. In time the opera house became a ruin. The daughter became the wife of a well known United States senator from Oregon and figured much in Washington society.

H. MARDEN

8 - HIGHGRADERS DID A THRIVING BUSINESS IN FLUSH TIMES OF AURORA

December 2, 1915

During the period the Aurora mines and mills were in operation, there was what, at this day, is known as highgrading but, at that time, called by a more forcible name. There was much of what is known as "picture rock", and much of it valued at from one to three or four dollars a pound. Many small reduction works were in operation, usually consisting of mortars of various sizes. Some had spring pole attachments to assist in raising the pestles. These could be heard in operation any evening until a late hour. Coffee, of foundry fame, constructed several small batteries of four stamps weighing fifty or sixty pounds each, operated by hand power. They did not prove a success. Coffee installed one in his foundry with a small amalgamating pan attachment, which he leased to a man who shall be nameless. Having the coin he was able to pay cash to all who came. Having the monopoly in that line of endeavor, he did a thriving business, practically on his own terms. The miners brought him ore in dinner buckets, in pockets of their coats, or in any manner. He had scales such as are usually used in groceries, which were used in weighing the ore. His manner of proceeding was thus: When purchasing, he would take the offering and proceed to apply "the acid test", to wit: spit on it, look wise, and name the price he would pay-so much per pound, from one dollar up, often two or three dollars. He did a thriving business and continued for several years to purchase ore that he had reduced in the little mill which the writer operated for several years. He was the mining expert and oracle of that period for those operating in and about the old workings. The miners would assort their ore very close, pulverize it in a mortar, and with a horn spoon perform a process similar to panning. From that they determined the value by experience. Then and later, parties almost invariably deceived themselves when sampling mines. The oracle was often appealed to pass judgment on the value of a quantity of ore. He was a good judge. Should the ore be of doubtful quality he would be non-committal. He was the only one who could do the amalgamating stunt properly. When in his judgment the ore was doubtful, he had an excuse ready-was about to go on a fishing or prospecting trip.

Mr. Poor, mentioned in a former article, was a man of tireless energy and of much foresight. He had accumulated considerable wealth transporting ores to the mills and had much faith in the future of the mines and the town. In '65, when the company mills commenced closing, he purchased the Union mill of eight stamps, equipped with the usual number of pans, and capable of reducing from twelve to fifteen tons of ore each 24 hours. A large amount of wood was cut in and about Aurora. When the mills began shutting down there was a panic among the wood choppers, and their wares were for sale at almost any price. Mr. Poor became the purchaser of any and all offerings. From 25¢ to 50¢ per cord were his figures in the beginning. Later it became too much trouble to measure the wood and he would purchase by offering a lump sum. Much wood was acquired for fifteen cents per cord, and some no doubt for less. He also purchased much other property when the price appealed to him, and often at his own

figures. He operated the Union as a custom mill during the fall and winter of '65 and '66 until April '67.

During that period most of the companies maintained a representative in Aurora. They leased to the miners the privilege of working the mines, also of sorting the dumps. Many small fortunes were thus made, and much bullion left the camp without available record for various reasons. The leases were usually on a percentage basis. As I remarked in a previous article, sampling ore prior to running through the mills, or from samples obtained from pulp after its passing the batteries was not practiced. Those were the days we were acquiring much experience by hard knocks and many disappointments.

At the above mentioned date, April, 1867, the amount of ore produced from the old workings and dumps had decreased very materially. There not being ore in plenty to employ both the mills, the smaller one had the advantage. As it could reduce small lots of ore at a much cheaper rate, it was the more steadily employed.

Mr. Poor proposed to the writer to lease the Union mill. It was a surprise. Will remark that Mr. Poor and the writer were friends from the early fifties in Tuolumne county. One proposition was a bar. Nothing was positive about how long I could retain the lease on the Coffee property. It was for sale, very cheap. Poor proposed that we purchase, but, to one without capital enough to purchase one stamp if quartz mills were selling on the market at ten dollars a dozen, the plan was a hard one. Poor was blooded and asked if I would lease both mills if he succeeded in purchasing the Coffee property. We soon came to terms.

Coffee was much of a sport and a high liver. The income from the mill would not sustain the pace, and his creditors were somewhat insistent. With his family he was rustivating in Bridgeport-a very convenient temporary arrangement for several at that date. Mr. Poor went to Bridgeport and in 48 hours was back in Aurora with the deeds and an order for me to turn over the property. His expenditure was \$500 in cash and assumption of Coffee's liabilities for the balance. He proceeded to make his own terms with Coffee's creditors, and, in a few days, the matter was consummated. Both mills, a large amount of wood in the hills, a ton and a half of quicksilver, much salt, many chemicals, and all supplies required for the successful operation of the mills, with a team and wagon in addition, were turned over. No invoice was taken, and no lease drawn. The deal completed, Mr. Poor and his family faded from view as far as the old town was concerned. The "little mill" so called became a factor until 1876 when the Bodie boom commenced.

Perhaps you may conceive the peculiar position a man running a custom mill would be placed in, with no checks and balances to determine values. With the peculiar conditions prevailing in the early period, it is no wonder that men were somewhat suspicious. They would hardly trust their partners. When the time arrived to mill their ore, usually one of the parties would be constantly in attendance during the period the ore was being reduced. Partners would -do not wish to indite the word -perhaps graft will do, from each other. In one instance a man proceeded to rob his own returns. The mill was usually leased by the day. The mill man was compelled to watch or his quicksilver would turn up missing, packed off in amalgam. At this date, quicksilver was an asset, valued at \$1.25 per pound. Had the writer all the bullion he was accused of purloining directly and by innuendo, he would have left the old town with a competency early in the fight.

The man who stole his own amalgam did it for the purpose of beating a store bill. He was later hung in Lyon county, Nevada for the murder of his wife.

H. MARDEN 2507 Pine Street, San Francisco

**9 - AURORA REMINISCENCES-FISTIC SCIENCE-A CHINAMAN'S MATRIMONIAL TROUBLES
DECEMBER 9, 1915**

When the Exchange Hotel, erected in Aurora by a Slavonian as mentioned in a former article, was completed in the fall of 1863, it was leased to men by the name of Mitchell (when properly spelled, however, the name ended in "vich"). They were from Columbia, Tuolumne county, had plenty of capital and proceeded to furnish the Exchange most elaborately. The bar glistened with cut glass and silver. The billiard tables were of the finest finish; the card rooms were all that could be desired for comfort and convenience of patrons. Appointments of the rooms were in keeping. The dining room, in the basement, was run by a man who came with them from Columbia by the name of O'Hara-not an Irishman as his name would denote-but a colored gentleman who had been a famous purveyor of good things in that town. His dining room was the Delmonico's of that period. Drinks at the bar were 25¢. Champagne was on draft. During the fall and winter of '63 and '64 they did a thriving business. When the decline commenced the Exchange was the first to feel the change. In the winter of '64-'65 the Mitchells faded from view, and with them much of the splendor of the Exchange departed. The dining room shared the same fate. The colored gentleman will figure somewhat in the chronicles of Bodie in the future.

Afterward the hotel had many landlords. Among them was one familiarly known as Bite and Cry. He was a man over six feet in height. He was never known to smile and could not see the point of a joke before two or three days had passed when, with a loud guffaw but without change of countenance, he would enjoy it. He always attended to the tables. Standing behind a guest's chair he would remark, "You had one cup of coffee; have another." Or "You had one piece of pie; have another." The pay streak in the pies was very thin, also very pale at times. Finally the property was acquired by one Angus McLeod in the fall of 1880. In January, 1881, the building was destroyed by fire.

From 1867 to 1870 Aurora had settled down to normal conditions, a little world by itself. There was much taking place in the social life of the town. The Masons and Odd Fellows had lodges, with fair memberships. Churches and Sunday schools were also in evidence, with fair attendance.

During the winter months, travel dwindled, and the roads were blocked with snow. A certain man organized a class to teach the manly art of self-defense. He did not lack for applications; even members of the church were his patrons. The laying on of hands was much in evidence on the least provocation.

Two prominent members of a church, one of them a deacon, brought some ore to the mill for reduction, quite a quantity for those times. During the first clean-up they disagreed as to the custody of the bullion. Some words passed; the kettle of bullion was passed over to the writer. The men went to settle their difference according to the prescribed rules, while yours truly held the bullion and was the referee. The deacon, after being knocked down in proper form five times, concluded that he had plenty and so expressed himself. They proceeded to wash off the blood in the same tub and dry their faces and hands on the same towel. The writer was agreed to as custodian of the bullion and all was serene. A few

days later the minister, an Englishman, a cockney of the first water, called to learn of the affray. He wished to learn whether they fought as dogs do or as men. When he learned that it was a give-and-take square knockdown, he remarked that he did not consider it any particular business of the church; there was no cause for action.

A Chinaman who had a garden near town had been quite successful so hied himself to San Francisco and bought a woman. When he arrived in Carson, the roads were almost impassable because of a storm a few days before. During his detention at Genoa, highbinders captured his woman, and his troubles commenced. Legal steps were instituted for recovery. The affair gave material for a big story with scare heads in a Carson paper. It reached Aurora and a well known wit read the story aloud in a saloon, substituting for the Chinaman's name that of a well known business man who had driven to Reno. In a short time, the story was all over town, to the great scandalizing of some good people. At last some one kindly broke the news to the wife of the business man, but she sensibly appreciated it as a joke, so no harm was done.

The Chinaman captured his woman and got her as far as Wellington Station, when the highbinders again took possession and headed for Genoa. The Chinaman told his tale of woe to some cowboys who gave chase and recaptured the damsel and, as a guard, escorted the stage into Aurora. The Chinaman consulted an attorney and was advised to marry the woman, American style. This he did, inviting most of the town to the wedding-some wedding! The Justice of the Peace performed the ceremony.

Among the Aurorans was a genial soul known as Deacon, a friend of old and young. His musical ability with voice and instrument was contributed to choir and church,. He never used profane language. From his genial personality and address the impression would be formed that he had the right to wear the title he bore. On a certain occasion a noted divine visited the town. The Deacon assisted in the exercises, as usual. From all appearances, the reverend gentleman took it for granted that the Deacon was such in fact as well as designation. However, during his stay he saw things strange to that idea. In another town he was asked his opinion of the people of Aurora and said that they were the most hospitable, generous and jolly people it had been his fortune to meet, but were peculiar in some things. The Deacon was one of the best story tellers he had ever met, but he patronized the bars and seemed to be the most popular man in town.

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10 - COURT AS ADJUNCT TO BUSINESS - DOCTORING AMALGAM FOR SENATOR NYE **December 16, 1915**

The change in management of the two custom mills of Aurora meant much to the writer who came in touch with most of the various lines of endeavor taking place, and especially transportation of ore, wood, etc; also to some extent with freighting from Reno and later from Carson for the merchants of the town through connection with the milling business. I became familiar with and often visited the old workings of the camp; possibly there was not a shaft or tunnel of early date that I had not visited and inspected, acquiring some of Mr. Poor's activeness with the transfer of the mills. Purchased ore; did some mining, some of the time to my advantage, as often, perhaps, to my sorrow financially. As mentioned in an earlier chronicle, the "acid test" in use in that period was not infallible as to value,

and one had to rely entirely upon his own judgment.

During the period from '68 to '76 Aurora was fairly prosperous. The merchants, hotel and saloon men were making money while the mining industry was a secondary consideration. The discovery of Pine Grove, Columbus, Candelaria, and other mining camps, with the settling of Mason and Smith valleys, contributed much to the business of the courts and brought many people to the county seat. The area of the county was very large. The expense and trouble of summoning jurors was very much of an item. The grand jurors were usually taken from town and nearby. The average personality was perhaps not of the best citizenship: result, in almost every instance, every case presented was followed by an indictment. Some care was exercised in the selection of trial jurors. Should indictments pertain to the mining towns the selection would be from the valley; if from the latter portion of the county, then the mining towns were drawn from. There were two terms of court each year. Usually the winter term was the one with the larger number of cases docketed. The majority of indictments for the greater crimes were dismissed. Woe be to the poor unfortunate who appropriated a \$40 mustang or a calf belonging to a rancher. Such usually received the limit. The winter term of court would usually continue four or perhaps six weeks when there would be much taking place and businessmen of the town were happy. The court and bar were often accused of being in league with citizens of the town to continue the term as long as possible.

During this period several attempts were made to reopen the mining industry. There was one commodity the citizens of the town were long on, and never played the short end of market; that was faith in the future. They were always destined to be disappointed. The first attempt was by a Mr. E. O. Taylor who claimed to have early day locations. He blew into the limelight in '67 and '68 with wonderful tales. He had organized a company in the City of Brotherly Love and secured some capital. He was welcomed as the coming Moses. He was a man of very meager business qualifications and mining experience: carried his gall with him and always on tap. He proceeded to sink a shaft in Wide West gulch, inside the lines of the Del Monte location. With a double-barreled windlass operated by manpower he proposed to sink a vertical shaft 500 feet in depth. During this time he was purchasing small lots of bullion from the miners who were usually assorting the dumps and working in and about the old diggings. Shipping to his company in Philadelphia, in due time, the value of the bullion, he secured an additional amount of coin. He also purchased the old Napa mill that had been idle since 1863 and introduced a couple of amalgamating pans with settlers. He never, to my knowledge, crushed any ore on the company's account; he leased, however, to some other parties. He purchased an oxtteam to supply the mill with wood; continued to purchase bullion and make regular shipments. Returns from the bullion always brought additional coin. Sinking the shaft continued until the depth reached about 60 feet when water was encountered. The work ceased until the proper machinery could be erected. That was as far as the company ever progressed. The parties who leased the mill failed to connect the furnace alongside the boiler, and it fell in one night. That broke the endless chain of Mr. Taylor's endeavor, and, in a few months, he vanished. The last that was known of him was in an adjoining state with wheels in his head.

While many amusing circumstances during the years the writer operated the custom mills might be related, not especially pertinent to the early day chronicles of the town, one will illustrate the

conditions of the times as well as the peculiar position in which one may be placed.

Dr. Muncton, of the early day period of Aurora, later of Carson City, a warm friend of the writer, no doubt placed too much confidence in his judgment pertaining to the reduction of ores, also their values. Will remark in passing that many small lots of ore were brought Aurora from outside localities to ascertain their value by milling test. A location was made on Castle Peak in the vicinity of Bridgeport, Mono county, and the location was known as the Dunderberg. Dr. Muncton became the purchaser. In due time he required more capital. Senator Nye of the state of Nevada, and one or two others became interested. The Senator was delegated to visit the mine and determine as to the future possibilities.

The writer received a wire from the doctor to meet the party at Bridgeport, to visit the location and determine the amount of water available for milling purposes, location of mill site, etc. A couple of days were spent. During the time it was suggested and agreed that the writer should select five tons of ore of average quality to be shipped to Aurora for a milling test. The ore was forwarded; the senator and the doctor returned to Carson with the understanding that on the arrival of the ore they should be informed. They would then visit Aurora to visit some of the idle mills, with a view of purchasing to erect at the Dunderberg. They arrived in due time, four in the party, and proceeded to the business in hand. At a later hour the Senator and party met the businessmen of the town. A U. S. Senator was an event not of every-day occurrence.

The good people proceeded to do the honors. The Senator was agreeable. All of both parties assisted. The writer dropped from view and proceeded to the mill to assist in cleaning up the milling test of the ore. Trouble then appeared; there was not amalgam in sight to meet the expectations of the doctor or of any of the others. As the festivities proceeded up town the Dunderberg mine loomed large in the horizon. Viewing it through the bottom of glasses covered with various colored fluids, prospects were very flattering. The doctor was sent for; he reached the mill after many subterfuges to separate himself from the crowd and conditions were explained. Were the returns to be exhibited as the result indicated, the doctor's chance for financial assistance would go glimmering. The Senator and his friends were trusting that the returns would be correct. Yours truly was between the devil and the deep sea. My reputation was at stake. Between reputation and friendship, I gave the friend the benefit of the doubt. In a chemical room of the mill some three or four pounds of amalgam had accumulated from time to time. In removing the shoes from the stamps, as the amalgam from the batteries would contain more gold than the average, the value would increase accordingly. Turning over the amalgam obtained from the ore, I left the mill, the doctor in possession, with instructions when ready to bring the amalgam up town to exhibit, also as proof positive there was no trouble to work the ore. The writer proceeded up town and joined the festivities. In due time the doctor arrived with his small kettle of amalgam, which was much praised. The amalgam was retorted during the evening. The next morning the party departed for Carson. There is no question some of the party could not determine just what the ore did pay. Not from the returns, but from other causes, the doctor did not get his financial assistance as expected. One of the party later dropped his wad in the Kearsarge mine in Inyo county. When the capitol building was erected in Carson one-half of the said bar of bullion from the Dunderberg mine was deposited in the receptacle under the cornerstone.

(Mr. Marden corrects an error in the article published December 2nd, by saying that the man mentioned therein as having been executed in Lyon county, Nevada, met his fate in Lincoln county instead.)

11 - GREELY REGIME IN AURORA - WHEN JOE WASSON CHANGED A PAPER'S POLITICS

December 23, 1915

In the spring of 1870 another attempt was made to resuscitate Aurora. Just at that period most any endeavor made was viewed with suspicion by many. Politics was the principal idea dominating the public mind. There were some bosses those days as well as later. A certain political admiration society had been occupying the courthouse, and evidently imagined its lease was life-long; at any rate it did not wish to be disturbed. A State election was due that fall. The Bank of California was considered to be a dominant factor in the political activities of the State.

Two brothers by the name of Greely who had been operating a foundry in Gold Hill, Nevada, arrived in Aurora and, with loud acclaim, informed the citizens of the town that they possessed abundant capital and would do wondrous things in the way of development. Also, by innuendo they strove to leave the impression that they were backed by the Bank of California in their undertaking. At that time anyone or anything bearing the political brand of that institution was viewed with suspicion by many. The personality of the brothers did not appeal to many; result, they were not looked upon as the Moses to lead us out of the wilderness, consequently they labored under many difficulties from the inception of their effort. There were some who were willing to take whatever the gods provided and did what they could to aid them in their endeavor. The Bank of California had come into possession of many of the old locations on Last Chance and another hill, also most of the abandoned mills were on their locations where the brothers operated principally. They did, however, lease the Antelope mill on Silver Hill and, with quite a force of men, proceeded to the extraction of ore and repaired one of the old mills. Evidently results were not what they anticipated and operations on the mine ceased. They had leased the foundry and had there done the work required in repairing the mills, introducing some new machinery in the foundry to facilitate work in that line. They paid their bills promptly, disbursed considerable coin and were quite an addition to the town.

F. A. Tuttle was the nominee of the Republicans for Governor and "Broadhorns" Bradley of the Democrats. The town, usually largely Republican, went strong for Bradley. While the Greelys were not very active during the campaign, a strong feeling had developed against them during the season. They had not confined themselves to any one particular location, and their operations had not accomplished much, if any, advancement in the line of development, all of which brought the brothers more into disrepute. However, as they met all their bills promptly and kept their contracts to the letter, a few profited very materially while the town as a whole was not much benefited as the brothers were disposed to deal elsewhere in all matters pertaining to their business.

During the winter months there was not much activity in mining endeavor. The following spring the Greelys proceeded to repair the shaft and hoist of the Juniata mine, formerly operated by John D. Winters. They employed quite a force of men and disbursed considerable money. There was also quite

an addition to the population of the camp as the brothers were disposed to boycott the majority of the older citizens as far as possible. They did considerable development work. During the time the work in the mine was taking place they purchased the Stark and Tucker mill of ten stamps at the junction of Aurora canyon and Bodie canyon and put it in fine shape for the reduction of ore. Drifting off the vein at the 150 foot level, they encountered a deposit of ore 8 feet wide. It looked very promising. The writer visited it often and considered the prospect very flattering. Very few of the people of the town were allowed to visit there which made them more distrustful of the Greelys. They extracted about 100 tons of ore and proceeded to reduce it at the mill. When the run was nearly completed, with only 4 or 5 tons remaining on the dump, the mill was burned. Just how much value was recovered from the ore no one knew. The mill was insured; the adjusters put in an appearance and the matter was adjusted evidently satisfactory to the brothers. They claimed a large loss in amalgam and quicksilver. They closed the mine and claimed they were broke. They never considered they had a fair show and thought they had not been treated with proper consideration by the majority of the people. They quit owing no man a dollar and having met every obligation contracted, which was more than could be said of some of those who derided them. The old adage that "money talks" was proved in the Greely administration in Aurora.

The Greely brothers were both of the legal fraternity; one was a Democrat, the other a Republican in politics. Both remained in the town and vicinity some time after their mining endeavor. The elder became District Attorney and later settled in Mason Valley. He was always active in some line. From some cause he became demented.

The other brother was at Bodie early in the boom period and was somewhat successful. He was candidate for Superior Judge on the Workingmen's ticket and was defeated. Later he went to the Ann Arbor Law School for a couple of years. When he returned to Bodie, he settled some business he had remaining in the town. From there he went to Eureka, California where he passed to the great beyond ere he became established in his profession.

One J. W. Avard published a paper in Aurora for several years. He was a redhot Republican and strong partisan. For several years he had very hard lines, Avard himself doing most of his work. Most of his revenue came from the county printing. After the arrival of the railroad at Reno, he concluded he was entitled to a vacation. One Joseph Wasson dropped into the town about that date and was left in the saddle. He was later sent to the Legislature from Inyo county and was the author of the bill establishing the State Mining Bureau in San Francisco; a very able man; a Republican. The first issue came out strong for the Democratic party in an editorial setting forth his views, also the reasons why he had observed the light that had caused him to see the evil of his former affiliations, etc. The change was heralded far and wide by the Democratic press of Nevada as well as California, and Bro. Avard was welcomed to their ranks. When he met his paper somewhere in his ramblings, he started for Aurora with blood in his eye. Ere he arrived, another issue came out. Surely that was some paper. All the cuts in the advertising columns were reversed or bottom side up. On Avard's arrival he could hardly recognize his own publication. The sale of the paper had increased quite materially in and about the town as well as a few additional subscribers. Not very long afterward the paper ceased to exist. For several years there was no paper published in the camp until the Bodie boom.

12 - POLITICS AGAIN START A REVIVAL FOR AURORA - STRENUOUS FUEL GATHERING

December 30, 1915

In September, 1874, two wagon loads of men arrived in Aurora, escorted by a State Senator. Their arrival was very unexpected and much speculation was indulged in. As the meaning of such an occurrence developed in a few days, there was something to be done in the way of future development of the mines. William Sharon was an aspirant for United States Senator; the fall election was due. A few days later one Warren Rose arrived as the future superintendent of the Juniata mining company; a man of very few words and tireless energy. He commenced operations immediately. From him none received any intimation that there was any political connection with the proposed activities. It was very amusing, however, to observe that many of those who so loudly condemned the attempt of the Greely brothers on political grounds were the first to climb on the band wagon. To hear the discussion and the arguments presented to sustain their contention, from their standpoint, was highly entertaining. It made much difference from their point of view whether the scheme was financed by Mr. Sharon, incidentally by the Bank of California, or by two men furnishing their own capital.

The first work undertaken was the construction of a road on the side of Mount Cory, two and a half miles long, for the purpose of obtaining wood. A large force of men was employed. As foreman of the job, at a liberal salary, was a man who had never voted any ticket but the Democratic; in season and out of season he had proclaimed there was no true gospel but the Democratic. Preference was also extended to those of that political faith as far as possible in the way of employment. Many new arrivals put in an appearance. All who applied had employment. As a natural result the town was much improved in the way of business. One or two new saloons were opened. Matters looked very promising for the future. The superintendent was very busy in preparations. He decided that the little hoist that had been installed during the Winters' administration, and improved somewhat by the Greely brothers, was not suitable for the purpose of sinking the shaft to a depth of 1,000 feet. A much larger engine was removed from the Winters mill. Additional boilers were installed. From Virginia City the latest improved hoisting machinery was procured, suitable to sink any depth that might be required.

While the preliminary work was being performed the election was held. Aurora polled the largest number of votes it had for years.

Soon after, the road was completed, causing a number of employees to be discharged. Quite a number were added to the population of the town as many men were required for cutting wood, all of which contributed to the community welfare. It soon developed, however, that the superintendent had his troubles. Parties who secured the contracts for transportation of the wood could not fill the bill. The road being new, ground soft, and wood green they soon departed. Fortunately the fall was very late, with no rain or snow until about January 15th. The company had purchased a team to do its own work in the way of transportation of wood. A certain man in town had some teams engaged in freighting from Carson City to Aurora for the merchants. He was appealed to, and having in mind the rebuke of the Master to His Disciples when he said, "I say unto you, make to yourself friends of the Mammon of unrighteousness," and also being willing to profit by what the gods provided for the benefit of the town and himself, he informed Mr. Rose that as soon as wagons could be changed for the purpose of hauling

wood he would be on the job.

The evening the rigs were ready for business it commenced raining, and from that the storm changed to snow. When the storm ceased, from 16" to 20" of snow was on the ground. The attempt to open the road for wagons proved to be a failure. Meanwhile the pile of wood was decreasing. The question presented itself, should the Juniata close for want of fuel when a man of such tireless energy, backed from appearances by unlimited capital would thus be compelled to acknowledge defeat? Snow and still more snow arrived, 2 feet and upwards. By thirty-six hours constant work at the blacksmith shop in town, also at the shop at the shaft, sleighs were constructed and ready for business. By changing horses and putting in long days, from six to eight cords of wood per day were delivered: result, the accumulation of a wood pile. About the tenth of February, the days had lengthened. At the noon hour the snow would have softened. As the grade was on the side of the mountain, on a curve the rear bobs would slip off the grade and wood go tumbling down the hillside. The question was, what next? To a suggestion that the teams run nights, Mr. Rose demurred for the reason that no men could be found willing to tackle such a job, leaving in time to be loaded in the woods at daylight. That obstacle was soon overcome. The owner of the teams was the driver of one; by additional wages to others the stunt was pulled off. It was surely some job. Out around Mount Corey, 7,000 feet elevation, snow blowing, thermometer down to nothing, was no place for a weakling. The Juniata had plenty of wood to continue sinking until the roads were ready for transportation with wagons. The work progressed favorably until the fall of '75 when the failure of the Bank of California caused a shut-down.

During this period business prospered. The goodly sum of money disbursed monthly contributed much to the prosperity of the community. During the operations of the Juniata company very little ore was produced from any of the old workings; result, not much being done by the custom mill in the way of ore reduction, and not much after that time.

In passing, will remark that in the career of the Vigilance Committee, John Daily, when the rope was placed on his neck, pronounced a curse on the camp and asserted that there were those present who would live to see grass growing in the streets of the town. His prediction bade fair at this date to prove true.

The following winter there was much taking place in social matters; one of the liveliest winters the place had experienced in many years. Money was plenty. Aurora was nearly isolated for a period of thirty days, perhaps more. The roads were almost impassable from snow. Two events are worth recording.

The colored gentleman with the Irish name (O'Hara) gave a dinner to the old-timers of the town. The guests, without the knowledge of the host, raised a fund for the purchase of wine and other liquid refreshments. Could the writer portray the scenes that night and report the speeches made it surely would be interesting. While none were unduly inebriated, there were many very mellow. I call to mind two middle-aged gentlemen who had never indulged, but who then got outside of a few glasses of champagne. It surely warmed up the cockles of their hearts-not only limbered their tongues but their legs as well. They demonstrated to the younger men how, when they were boys, they cut the pigeon wing. The old original string band was in evidence.

A few days later a Chinaman who had been an understudy of O'Hara and who had a bakery in the town

and who also had run boarding houses for some of the companies when they were operating, was not to be outdone by his chief. He gave a final spread to the winter activities. No one provided the wine for him. There were no strong drinks in evidence but wine, then some more wine. The string band was on hand as usual.

Aurora was not dead, neither was it sleeping. All were perfectly willing that private individuals, political aspirants, or any banking interest should open up the mines at any time. All at this date were ready to mount the band wagon.

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13 - BODIE STIMULATES NEW EFFORT IN AURORA - COUNTY SEAT IS MOVED TO HAWTHORNE

January 6, 1916

During the winter of '75 and '76 the Syndicate Mining Company was formed, for the purpose of acquiring the property of the Empire Mining Company of Bodie that had been idle for several years. Warren Rose was the promoter. He succeeded in his undertaking and made all arrangements necessary for adding the latest improved machinery to the equipment of the mill. Much of the material and supplies of all kinds were purchased in Aurora. Contracts were let for cutting wood on Table Mountain near town. Its transportation benefited the merchants and business men and gave employment to miners as well as men in other lines of endeavor; consequently business did not suffer materially by the closing of the Juniata. During the season of 1876 and 1877 all lines of business were prospering. As the mines of Bodie developed Aurora was helped. All the freighting from Carson, stages and other lines of travel passed through town, and, as a result, hotels, restaurants, bars, etc. all did a thriving business.

This condition of affairs continued when, in the fall of '78, the development of the Bodie mines attracted new attention to the possibilities of those in Aurora. A company was organized, known as the Del Monte. Many who were interested in Bodie, D. O. Mills, H. M. Yerington and others, were the stockholders. It was capitalized for 100,000 shares, par value \$100 each. Most assuredly that looked promising to those who had remained in the old town to these many years. The company commenced operations immediately, locating their shaft near the lines of the original Del Monte and Wide West. George Daily, from Virginia City, was the superintendent, very much alive and very sanguine as to results. With unlimited capital, he proceeded to the business in hand. Aurora was galvanized into action: old buildings were repaired and many new ones were erected; lots were staked and fenced; quite a number of the old-timers returned; and many new ones were added to the population. During the fall and early winter the superintendent did not make suitable arrangements for procuring fuel to supply the mine. His compensation for the transportation of wood did not attract men engaged in that line of business. Result, about December there was much demand for teams. He was compelled to change his views and authorized a man engaged in the wood business to engage teams at what he considered a fair compensation with positive instructions to rush the job. It was very cold with much ice and some full of teams. Blacksmith shops were running night and day, and everything was under high pressure. Hotels, restaurants and several new saloons had been added, and all were doing a thriving business. For

a period of 35 or 40 days it reminded one of the days of '63.

During the spring and summer prospects were very bright. The shaft had reached a depth of 500 feet and had encountered a flow of water that could not be handled with the machinery then employed, compelling a temporary closing down. Pending the construction of new machinery and larger hoisting engines there was installed one of the largest Cornish pumps in the State.

To give the reader some idea of the situation at that date: All machinery was transported from Carson on wagons. The spur wheel for driving one pump weighed 14 tons. The timber for the pump rods was 65 feet long and 16 inches square. Contemplate the magnitude of the undertaking and the cost.

On the completion of the new hoisting works they proceeded to sink the shaft, crosscutting the country also with diamond drills ahead in all directions to determine its possibilities. In the spring of '81, at 880 feet, the bottom of the shaft encountered a flow of water. On an upper level about the same date, in a crosscut, an added flow of water was developed. The pumps could not handle it. For some days two large baling tanks were operated in addition to the pump. As no perceptible impression could be made in reducing the water in the shaft, the company closed down. This ended the once bright prospects.

In 1880 the Carson and Colorado Railroad reached Hawthorne. The railroad company constructed a wagon road up the Bodie canyon from the Five-Mile House to the junction of the Aurora and Bodie road, deflecting all freighting and stages and completely sidetracking the old town. The Legislature of 1882 authorized the removal of the county seat to Hawthorne. Some few of the citizens fought the removal through the courts, while others observed the handwriting on the wall and refused to assist. Consequently there was much hard feeling. A well-known attorney who had been elected to the Legislature from Aurora favored the removal instead of standing by the town. On his return he was hanged in effigy in front of the courthouse. His decline in the county and State was much more rapid than the decline of the old town. The courts decided in favor of Hawthorne. In the early summer a couple of quartz wagons were backed up to the doors of the courthouse and loaded. With them departed the glories of the county seat and with them many were selling short their faith. That Fourth of July was held the last observance of that holiday in Aurora for many years. The exercises were held in Wingate hall which was not more than half filled. In the view of the writer it partook more of the nature of a lodge of sorrow than a celebration of the glorious Fourth. The president of the day was an old-timer. The balance of those who took part in the exercises were of the younger generation reared in the old town, sons and daughters of those who had remained with the place with the faith of Elijah though never fed by the ravens. That day one could count on the fingers of one hand the number present of those who were of the original pioneers. The curse that Daily had pronounced on the camp, with the rope on his neck in the days of the vigilantes, appeared to be very near fulfillment at this period.

H. MARDEN

14 - MORE VAIN MINING VENTURES - SOME THRILLING EPISODES THAT NEVER HAPPENED

January 13, 1916

In the '80s there were several attempts to open and develop some of the early Aurora locations. Ex-Governor Blaisdell had acquired a property known as the Humboldt, a very large vein of low values. He

also acquired the Antelope mill, located on Bodie creek at the junction of Aurora canyon. It was one erected in 1863, a fine brick structure. Portions of the machinery had been removed. The boilers and engine were intact; also the batteries of 20 stamps were in good condition. He reconstructed the mill.

The Governor was a smooth talker of the Methodist persuasion; a regular attendant at the Sunday school and permitting no work at either mine or mill on Sunday. He was also a good persuader, a politician with an eye to the main chance. His residence was in Oakland, California, while for purposes of voting he registered in Aurora.

Being a past master in the art of persuasion, he induced many businessmen in the town to take stock in the company and put the mill in first class condition for the reduction of ore. During this time a force of men was employed at the mine, extracting ore. In the spring, when ready for business, a contract was let to the writer for transporting ore to the mill. The roads were in bad condition. As the contract specified that so many tons were to be delivered daily, the contractor had to attend strictly to business. The viewpoints of His Excellency and the contractor were not always in accord. One Sunday when out with the teams, the Governor happened to pass when one of the wagons was mired down to the axles. The drivers were busy at the moment dropping the Governor's wealth through the bottom of the wagon, having found it to be an excellent material for filling mud holes in the road. The Governor was astounded and proceeded to lecture us on the enormity of such a proceeding. Not having the effect intended, he informed us he could not and would not tolerate any such proceedings in the future. With two eight-horse teams standing idle, the loss of time, etc. the contractor was in no humor to listen to any further discussion on the matter, and, in very strong and perhaps not the choicest language, informed the Governor that, at the end of the month, on a sworn statement from him of the net profits received from the ore reduced per ton, he would be reimbursed for all the ore deposited in the road. That seemed to have a very soothing effect. He passed on. At the expiration of 40 days, on payday there was no check appearing for transportation account; neither was there a sworn statement as to values, so the proposed reduction of ore could not be made. The mill closed, and all work at the mine suspended. Employees at the mine and mill were paid, and it looked very much as if the contractor, the largest creditor, was the goat. Sometime later steps were taken for collection. The mill was sold at the proper time. The mill was also sold for taxes. Paying the taxes at the time limit for redemption, the money was paid after nearly two years had elapsed. The Governor had the reputation of paying his bills and usually proceeded to do so in his own way and time. Later he disposed of mine and mill to the Consolidated Esmeralda, an English syndicate. All those who held stock in the Humboldt received shares in the new incorporation. It was later disposed of to the Englishmen for about one-half the original investment. Thus ended one more disappointment.

Some were long on faith, ready for one more attempt. About this period a mine known as the Cortez on Silver Hill was sold to New York parties. It had produced considerable ore of much value in the early days. The man appointed superintendent was an attorney, and no doubt knew more law than he did of mining business. He had an office staff and much red tape was in evidence. He prided himself and impressed one and all (or tried to) the honesty of the management. There appeared to be a dual head to the business. One McIntosh was much in evidence as a business manager while the superintendent looked wise and signed the checks. Work shops were erected at the mine. Much material was purchased.

A proper force was installed, carpenter, blacksmiths, foreman, shift bosses, etc. Development was through the Cortez tunnel, one of the early day workings. Quite a force of miners was employed, and, in due time, a mill was required for the reduction of ore. McIntosh was the moving spirit in that enterprise. He purchased a mill in Bodie and appealed to the business men of the town to raise the money to move the mill to Aurora, they to be reimbursed by the payment of a stipulated amount per ton on all ores reduced until the money was refunded. During the winter the mill was moved and completed. Ore was accumulating on the dump, pronounced by the management to be of superior quality. They were still employing the old acid test.

During the month of February the completed mill commenced reducing the ore. In March it closed down, and the parties from whom it had supposedly been purchased proved to be still the owners. Those of the town who had furnished the funds for removal of the mill were left to hold the sack. Surely the oldtimers were easy. The mine also closed. Of all the attempts that had been made this was the greatest failure. None of those in charge had any knowledge of mining or the reduction of ores. The foreman of the mine, who claimed and should have had knowledge, knew little in the way of engineering. A crosscut he ran into the hill would soon have been out the side of the mountain had not the mine closed just at that time. His drift was as the letter U. How much graft there was in the management was hard to determine. The writer came very near being once more the goat and had it not been for a friendly tip from a prominent man in San Francisco would surely have been a victim.

On reading George Montrose's comments on Van Loon's stories of the Ghost Cities of the West, one who was a resident from 1863 to 1889 and was interested in many of the activities of those stirring times can but smile at the description of many things and events. I was never aware that there was a Flatiron building in the town. The building he mentions as being a stately mansion known as the superintendent's house, builded of lumber hauled across the deserts, etc. was a one-story building of brick, originally with a flat roof. It was occupied a number of years by Judge Murphy, later Chief Justice of the State. During the Del Monte boom a wooden roof was erected on it, adding much to its appearance.

The markings on the floor of the old courthouse where big Ed Loose turned the handspring when the gunmen rallied to the S.O.S. call of Pat Reddy-fairy tales, all fairy tales. When the gunmen of the two towns stood opposed within the courtroom-no such an event took place at that late date. The case to which he has reference was known as the Owen case, for the murder of one Traver at Candelaria. A merchant of Columbus, Traver was a prominent Mason, formerly of Calaveras county, a very prominent man in the early fifties of that county. Owen was a miners' union man, formerly of Virginia City, a Catholic. The feeling was very marked. The miners' union furnished unlimited money for his defense, for which Reddy was engaged. Several days were occupied in getting a jury who were mostly secured from Mason Valley. The Sheriff of Esmeralda county at that date was no weakling, nor was the Under Sheriff. When Owen was cleared, Reddy at once procured a rig, loaded in the jury and proceeded to Bodie where they painted the town red. The writer met them as he was returning from Bodie to his home in Aurora, the jurymen in a couple of covered wagons, Reddy bringing up the rear in his four-in-hand. There was much hilarity as I met them and was greeted with three cheers. Did not consider it a compliment; on the contrary, it was to the success of the miners' union.

15 - AURORA CONCLUDED - MINING VENTURE - SORDID TRAGEDY OF PIONEER DAYS**January 20, 1916**

In the early '80s an English corporation known as the Consolidated Esmeralda had taken over the holdings of the Del Monte company on Last Chance and Martinez hills, with the extensive hoisting and pumping equipment and with many other locations on those two hills, also most of the locations on Middle hill. It also purchased a very extensive location known as the New Esmeralda, about two miles northeast of the town of Aurora. Just how much cash was advanced was not generally known. Three fourths of the stock was owned in America. Those disposing of the different properties received shares in the new corporation. The same company also absorbed the Humboldt mine and mill, of which ex-Governor Blaisdell was the principal owner. They were in control of most of the mineral territory with the exception of Silver Hill on which there were several patented locations. What few citizens were left in the town looked forward with much hope to the future.

Soon the advance guard arrived. A manager with his staff, so called, consulting engineer, etc. most assuredly looked like business. Shortly their mine foreman put in an appearance. He was no stranger to the community, an old-timer from the early days whose reputation as a follower of a cocktail route exceeded his standing as a mine foreman. They also had a mechanical engineer, who proceeded to reconstruct the mill. Many new inventions were introduced. One familiar with the reduction works of those days would hardly recognize the interior of that mill when ready for business. A hoist was erected on the Humboldt mine and a large force of miners was employed. The foreman had much business between mine and town-many matters to be attended to. Did one have any business at the office, much red tape had to be unwound. The manager was approachable only through the proper channels, while on the contrary, the foreman was easily approached by giving the high sign.

As soon as the mill was in readiness a run of the ore was made, with the usual result-returns were not favorable. The mill closed for further changes. Their consulting engineer resigned. The writer's old friend and fellow pilgrim of '63, R. K. Colcord, was appointed to that position. This was some time in the spring of 1885. About that period the manager had advertised for bids for the transportation of ore from the Humboldt mine, also from the New Esmeralda location. The contract was awarded to parties out of town, while there was a bid from a resident at the same figure; the reason assigned was that the resident did not follow the requirements prescribed by the manager. A few weeks run soon determined that there was some trouble with the mill.

About this period a director of the company from London, Alfred E. Conn and H. M. Yerington, a resident director representing the American stockholders, put in an appearance. Shortly there appeared considerable commotion in and about the office of the headquarters staff. This was just before Mr. Colcord received his appointment as general manager. He soon arrived, and with him, a young man as foreman, a live wire with an eye strictly to business. The celebrated staff disappeared, and with them also the foreman of the cocktail route. The new management commenced operations on Middle hill, on a location known as the Durant. A hoist was erected, and the development of that location proceeded with some success in the way of producing some ore and shipping bullion. After a few shipments of

bullion had been made, there was a demand for the stock of the Consolidated Esmeralda. American holders of the stock, more than willing to accommodate the demand, supplied it to the purchasers at from twenty-five cents up to one dollar, averaging about fifty cents a share. Those in and about Aurora considered themselves very fortunate. Holders of stock in the Humboldt mining company received on their original investment about one half the original amount. To the positive knowledge of the writer, this was the first instance when those of the community had ever been reimbursed one dollar for any assistance rendered to any undertaking promoted for the welfare of the community, and there had been many. All considered it a scratch, accordingly were duly thankful. The Consolidated Esmeralda remained under R. K. Colcord's management until the fall of 1888, when the property closed down and the glory of the old town departed.

The writer has knowledge of but very few who were residents of the town in the times of which I have written. Most of them are sleeping where the the sagebrush is the only thing green, with nothing to mark the place they are now occupying. There will be many who will write fairy tales of these days, after listening to some of the later period, and from that, as in the Van Loon production, make interesting reading.

There were many tragedies during the years of which I have written. Much has been written of many of them that leaves a very erroneous impression on the minds of the present day. Before closing will relate one that took place in the late sixties. One Charles Robinson, a livery stable proprietor, a man with wife and family of three children, was a jolly whole-souled man, the friend of all. One Frank Schoonmaker had a saloon a short distance from the stable. Robinson and Schoonmaker were close friends and much in each other's company; Schoonmaker was a welcome visitor to Robinson's home at any and all occasions.

Robinson had been contemplating closing his business and moving to the new country of Bishop Creek. For that purpose he had purchased some stock and had located or rented a ranch. Schoonmaker had advanced him some money as a partner in the venture. There were two versions of the story. Early one spring they proceeded to Bishop for the purpose of viewing the stock and prospects. As far as anyone was aware there was no ill feeling between them when they departed on the trip. About one week later Schoonmaker came riding into town early one morning, alone. He reported that he had killed Robinson at the Yellow Jacket springs near Benton. His version of the affair was as follows: Robinson and himself had disagreed on the way. At Yellow Jacket Springs they dismounted from their horses to obtain a drink. Robinson laid down at the spring to get his drink, and, as he was rising, Schoonmaker observed that he had a pistol in his hand cocked; Schoonmaker shot him to protect himself. There were none others present to witness the shooting. Schoonmaker had reported the affair at Benton. Late that evening Robinson's remains arrived in Aurora.

During the day of Schoonmaker's arrival he made some disposition of his business and, with a couple of friends, departed for Bridgeport and gave himself up to the authorities of Mono county. The county at that date had no jail and practically no funds. He had an examination, was turned loose, went down the Walker river canyon and intercepted the stage and departed. He did not return to Aurora.

When the news of Robinson's death reached Aurora about nine o'clock in the morning, Parson Yager was delegated to inform Mrs. Robinson of the tragedy. Well does the writer remember the morning.

The sun was shining brightly. As I happened to be passing down the street, Parson requested me to accompany him to Robinson's house. To reach the the house we had to pass through the stable. In the back yard of the stable the Robinson children were amusing themselves. The doors being open, we could hear Mrs. Robinson singing. I remained outside and could hear the conversation. The Parson bade her good morning and remarked: "Mrs. Robinson, I have some very unpleasant news for you." She remarked: "Oh my God, Frank has killed Charley!" The Parson came from the house with the tears running down his face. As we were passing into the street the Parson exclaimed: "Good Lord! What do think of that?" What could one think? A year or so later Schoonmaker and Mrs. Robinson were married and located in White Pine county, in the boom days of that region. They did not live together very long. Could write much more pertaining to that happening, but forbear. The remark of Mrs. Robinson was the intimation of any cause for the tragedy.

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This concludes Mr. Marden's interesting reminiscences of the old camp of Aurora. No doubt the narrative has been somewhat less complete than it might have been because of his objections to detailing, except where unavoidable, the part he himself took in affairs. "Much of it he saw, some of it he was." He was one of the most prominent as well as one of the pioneers of that region and Mono. Some important mining ventures were undertaken by himself and associates, not on money wheedled from the public but on their own resources and to their own considerable loss in the end. With Bodie's early history he was familiar and in a position to give interesting facts, but for the above and other reasons is reluctant about doing so. The historian of the future, writing about those camps, will find in such articles material of value because dependable, and a service would be done in writing them, even if not for present publication.

EARLY MINING AND MILLING AT COLUMBUS, NEVADA. - HARDSHIPS OF TEAMING March 23, 1916

Some reminiscences of the early day period of Columbus, Nevada may prove interesting to readers of the Register; will relate a few matters that came under observation of the writer in the late '60s and early '70s in which he had some part and experience.

In the late '60s one Colonel Young of Aurora. procured a small mill of five stamps, with amalgamating machinery for a mill of that capacity. A man by the name of Holmes became interested, under a contract to erect and operate the mill at Columbus, at that date attracting considerable interest.

From the inception of the undertaking there seemed to be a hoodoo on it. On the way to its destination the team transporting the mill was overtaken on the eastern slope of the White mountains, in what was known as Columbus canyon, by a cloudburst or water spout. The teamster, hearing the roaring of the torrent, had barely time to rush the cattle up the side of the canyon before the volume of water overtook wagon and load, which soon disappeared from the view of the teamsters. Later portions of the mill were recovered on Columbus Marsh, several miles from where it had been seen last. They were buried in sand and debris. Portions were never recovered. Eventually the mill reached its

destination and was erected.

The ore in and about Columbus proved refractory and could not be reduced without roasting, consequently the mill was a failure. Two reverberatory furnaces were erected for roasting the ore with the requisite appliances.

About this date the two partners disagreed. Their troubles were taken to the courts at Aurora for adjudication but never were settled, however, as both parties were then in very straightened circumstances financially. The Colonel, however, was in possession. Nevertheless, that was some trial. It lasted several days, and the testimony was very conflicting as the two principals were the chief witnesses.

In the spring of '70 a strike had been made in a location at Candelaria known as the Mount Diablo. The locator was a German, formerly of Aurora. Two men, who had been formerly employed at a mill at Palmetto that had ceased operations, secured the quicksilver to reimburse them for their labor. Being out of employment they very naturally went to the nearest camp that promised employment. They were practical mill men, one of them an assayer also. They fell in with the German and pooled their capital, the German his prospect, their knowledge and quicksilver. They leased the mill of Colonel Young-it was not much of a mill, however-and proceeded to the business in hand.

The ore was very rich. They very soon astonished not only themselves but the mining world as well by the amount of bullion produced. They continued through the summer and fall, as long as the mill held together.

Late in December, 1870, Colonel Young appealed to the writer to proceed to Columbus to repair and operate the mill. To prove that the proposition was an opportunity not to be neglected, he produced several letters from businessmen and others of the town that the mill was in much demand, with prospects very flattering for its continuous employment. I had never visited Columbus and knew nothing of the condition of the mill or general conditions in that vicinity. The price of reducing ore, \$60 per ton, looked good. The proposition from the Colonel looked liberal. There was nothing in Aurora during the winter months in the way of reducing ore, so the proposition was accepted. Some castings required for the mill were made at the foundry.

On the second day of January, 1871, a four-horse team was loaded with material required for mill repairs and, with four men accompanying, a start was made for Columbus. One of the men was an assayer, the others were men of experience in and about quartz mills. The outfit was prepared to camp wherever night might overtake us. The weather was cold; that trip was no picnic, as was proved before reaching our destination.

Camping at the foot of the White mountains on the western side, the second night was a "humdummer." The wind blew a gale; there was an abundance of wood but no water. The assayer was a man who served through the Civil War and knew much of the tricks of making matters comfortable on the march. The writer had also much experience in roughing it, but never such a night. The assayer procured a shovel and sunk a hole in the sand. A couple of fair-sized sticks of wood on each side of the pit banked up with sand made a very comfortable place to pass the night, the wind passing over us. In the morning the wind had ceased. Proceeding on our way, the summit of the mountains was reached about noon. At that point the original hoodoo was laying in wait for the outfit. Shortly after the noon

hour the axle of the rear wheels broke. The day was bitter cold and spitting snow. Prospects were not flattering. We knew the distance to Benton; had no data as to the distance to Columbus. We decided, after discussing the question, that Columbus was the point to connect. Having a saddle horse with the outfit, I started on what proved to be a weary way, leaving the others to make the best of the situation. A thicket of pine nut trees was close at hand. With some lumber that was on the wagon, skillful manipulation by the assayer and other men provided a very comfortable shelter. H. M.

**COLUMBUS, NEVADA, IN 1871 - DISCOURAGING OUTLOOK AT THE MILL. - GUARANTEES
March 30, 1916**

The last chapter of this chronicle noted the writer's departure for Columbus, while his traveling companions were left stranded on the White mountains, with a broken-axled wagon. He knew that to follow the canyon would lead him to Columbus marsh, up which the road led to the destination. When the marsh was reached, it was expected that the lights of the town would soon be observed. It was very dark and snowing. No lights appeared. I was much disappointed, as well as very dry and hungry and, by this time, had concluded that it was a long way to Columbus. Proceeding at the best pace the steed could make and peering ahead for a light, I heard a hail by a voice from some quarter that I could not determine. Again came the hail. I pulled up and looked both sides of the road, but could not observe any habitation until a voice from the ground beside the road called my name. Then I observed a man standing in the doorway of a dugout from which came a bright flood of light-surely a welcome sight. My first salutation, "How far to Columbus?" The reply, "You are in Columbus now." Welcome news, but where is the town? A sand dune was intervening, and I soon was in the town, soon found quarters for my horse and found what was called a hotel. Ere I could make my wants known, an old friend from Aurora appeared and took me to his store in a tent. A more welcome sight had never been experienced. A large sheet iron stove, redhot; the place warm; soon a hot scotch prepared; still more welcome later, a hot supper; plenty of sheep skins on the ground floor and abundance of blankets made one of the most luxurious of beds for a tired man, and I slept the sleep of the just. Next morning the town was viewed-surely some town at that date. Soon was home sick; when I viewed the mill was still more disgusted. Learning that the axle could be repaired, the necessary arrangements were made and I departed for the summit of the White mountains.

The hoodoo was evidently very active. Snow commenced coming soon after we started; wind was blowing, and it was very cold. On arriving at the point where the outfit had been left, was so cold and numb and without use of myself that a couple of men assisted me from the horse. During the time, they had provided themselves with comfortable quarters. Wrapping me up in blankets, with a hot supper, by morning I was again ready for business. Had the wagon been in condition, would have returned to Aurora.

Weather clearing and sun appearing, matters improved. The wagon was unloaded and a pole put under the broken axle, and we were soon underway for Columbus. Repairs were soon completed and the assayer was dispatched with a couple of men to bring up the material left by the side of the road while the writer took stock of surroundings.

Conditions were not very promising or attractive. The town at that date consisted of a few small

buildings, principally of concrete, so called-constructed of ground from alongside the buildings. When mixed with water, it formed a mortar which when in place soon became hard, a fine material for the purpose. There were some tents, and two so-called hotels, but no beds or lodging house. There were four dispensaries where one could get the necessary stimulants if he had the price, to wit: 25 cents; no credit. Signs were much in evidence. The principal hotel consisted of a building 14 x 20 in which a bar, a few stools and a card table; in the rear a dining room and kitchen. It was a frame structure covered with canvas, old carpet and discarded ore sacks. As wind was very prevalent, often when dining, gravel of various sizes would be encountered. This was later discovered to be no detriment to one's digestion under the existing conditions.

Everything in the way of business in and about the town was at a standstill for the want of a mill to reduce ore. The people of the town claiming that there was an abundance of ore, the surrounding hills were full of prospectors. All that was required was a Moses that could smite a quartz mill properly, to start a silver stream flowing that would lead them out of the wilderness. Employing an engineer, I inspected the mill in its entirety. Prospects were far from flattering. In all my experience it was never my misfortune to encounter so hard a proposition-an old mill picked up in Aurora in job lots, badly constructed in the first place, and the boiler run as long as it would hold water and make steam not a tool of any description about the establishment. It did not appeal as a proposition that could by any chance make the silver lining appear in any cloud. With a mill in that condition, with wood twelve to fifteen dollars a cord, with a prospective pay roll of fifty dollars a day, and incidental expenses that could not be estimated, the return road to Aurora was very attractive. I discussed the proposition with the assayer, as we supposed where no one was listening. We decided the proposition would not warrant making the attempt to repair the mill. Other conditions were also taken into consideration. The writer had no experience in working or manipulating that character of ore or the capacity of the mill. The estimated expenses were appalling. In addition, we were informed that the custom prevailing was to guarantee eighty per cent of the assay value. All this tended to make one's feet very cold.

I had brought from Aurora one thousand pounds of quicksilver that might possibly be sacrificed in the attempt. At that time the prevailing value was \$1.25; \$95 per flask was too much capital for the writer to place in jeopardy. While we were discussing the question, two of the principal men of the town appeared and undertook to convince us there were no chances of failure. As to the possibility of failing to secure eighty per cent of the assay value, they would insure us on that point. At that stage of the discussion I asked to what extent and what security they would give should the attempt prove a failure. I explained that a four-horse team and saddle horse with \$900 worth of quicksilver would be liable should the undertaking be a failure; that walking was very bad between Columbus and Aurora, owing to the desert country intervening and the long distance between drinks (water); that talk was cheap; that it required nerve and additional money to attempt to renovate such a proposition as that old mill presented. Did they wish the proposition attempted, something in addition to chin music must be in evidence. Shortly one of the party wanted to know how long a time would be allowed for them to decide on some line of action. They were informed that the next morning we would proceed on our weary way; that was our intention.

H. M.

GUARANTEES AGAINST LOSSES IN MILLING. - OVER-VALUING ORE LOTS

April 6, 1916

Columbus had prospered during the previous summer. Money was plenty, and all business running under high pressure. At the time of my arrival nothing was doing, owing to the want of some means of reducing the ore, of which it was claimed there was an abundance.

It will be recalled that we had put the question of guaranteeing mill results up to the citizens. About 10 o'clock p.m. I was awakened at the corral where we were rooming and requested to meet some parties at Mr. Spencer's store on a matter of business. We demurred at first, and were informed that some gentlemen wished to meet us on some very important matter. On arriving, found Mr. Spencer, Hickman and Fitzgerald, the hotel proprietors, and one other man who had known me for several years. I learned later that he was present to vouch to the above parties that any contract I entered into with them would be carried through in all its stipulations, also that the other parties would also perform all the stipulations set forth. Mr. Spencer, the merchant, proposed first that he had twenty cords of wood piled up at his store, that he would furnish also any supplies required that he had in stock, as well as any supplies required by the employees of the mill. Hickman and Fitzgerald would board all of the employees about the mill, including the writer and the assayer, for the period of ninety days from the date of starting the mill. At the expiration of that time they would share jointly with myself and slash their proportion payment one fourth cash. I informed them that at the next morning we would give them an answer. If the answer was favorable, they would be expected to sign an agreement.

Spent the balance of the night investigating the possibilities of making the old mill drop her stamps. It was a hard proposition. The boiler required patching. The tubes in the firebox had been burned and taken up at the ends so often it was a hard matter to make them so they would not leak.

At the appointed hour I informed them I was ready to sign the stipulation. During the night the assayer had drawn one up that proved satisfactory to all parties. It was duly signed in duplicate and witnessed by our mutual friend.

The next week was a busy one. We hardly ceased work to sleep during that period. Ore began to arrive from the hills in lots of from a few hundred pounds up to several tons. It looked much like business. The population of the town also increased. All were positive good times were at hand, while the writer was much in doubt. In about one week we were ready for business. By speeding up the battery we concluded the capacity of the mill would be increased half a ton a day, which proved quite an addition to its receipts. The day the old rattletrap dropped the stamps was an event, a gala day. Most of the population was present. Congratulations were very much in order. Evidently all that was required for the future success of all had been done. The writer only from appearances was not happy. During the time the repairs were taking place the assayer and the writer pooled their capital, mostly experience. He had a fine assay office in Aurora. He was to bring that to Columbus; that and his knowledge of assaying went in against the four-horse team. There was much demand by the prospectors for assaying work, and the team would be in demand as well, in connection with the mill. Some ten tons of ore had been left by former operators in the mill when it closed down, and they wished it reduced. A Mr. Hazeltine, one of the former operators, was an assayer. He had informed me there was no difficulty whatever in working the ore provided it was properly roasted. To secure the desired results I employed

the former manipulators of the furnace, three of them, for eight-hour shifts at \$8 per diem. The ore was crushed under the stamps dry, thence went to the roasters when salt was added, proportioned as near as could be determined to the assay value; the greater value the more salt. After proper roasting and cooling the ore was introduced into the pans, where there was no difficulty in recovering the values. In reducing that ore everything proved satisfactory; we recovered the 80 per cent of the assay value, so Mr. Hazeltine informed me. Everything pertaining to the enterprise looked very flattering except the old boiler. Had there been a government inspector, the old tea-kettle would not have been allowed to make steam.

During the time the mill was on the first lot of ore the assayer went to Aurora for his assay outfit, leaving the mill no assayer to determine values. The ore being crushed dry was deposited in a large box or receiver. Every three hours a sample was obtained. A tryer similar to one used in sampling butter was introduced. The pulp so obtained was mixed; this was divided into two samples; the mill retained one, the other went to the owner of the ore. From these samples the percentage was estimated.

As soon as the mill commenced operations the population of the town increased materially. Where they came from was a conundrum. Many were ex-Confederate soldiers. The majority of the inhabitants were of southern stock, while the writer and the assayer were Yankees. The majority of the "exes" were as fine and gentlemanly lot of men as one would wish to meet while a number who had not had any part in the conflict and did not surrender when Lee saw proper to do so were somewhat inclined to sneer at the Yanks. Many times remarks made in a general way were intended to apply in the present tense.

While the assayer was absent for his assay outfit we were reducing another lot of ore from a new location known as the Dog Valley mines. It had been at the mill several days. The miners and wise ones placed the value at \$50 to \$300 per ton. The writer, not being a judge of that character of ore, was somewhat exercised when commencing on that particular lot, as the mill had no assayer to determine the value.

When the first results were obtained from the pans, the amount of amalgam did not meet the expectations of the owners or the wise ones. One thing was positive: the value was not in the ore, or it was being run out of the mill. The writer could determine approximately the value from the amalgam produced, recovering about \$35 per ton. The remarks indulged in by many were not flattering to me, and in addition would not pay for milling. To add to the anxiety, Hickman and Fitzgerald were interested in the results. Were the values running from the mill at the rate of \$50 to \$100 per ton? Prospects were far from flattering to myself and backers. Very quietly I called Mr. Hazeltine to the mill for his opinion. His verdict was: "The ore is being manipulated properly. The most you will lose will be the difference in what you recover and the cost of reducing." H. M.

SUCCESSFUL MILLING BRINGS PROSPERITY TO COLUMBUS AND ENVIRONS

April 13, 1916

The assayer arrived the evening following our trouble with saving ore values. He was prevailed on to take the accumulated samples to Mr. Hazeltine's office and make assays that night. As the writer had not had any sleep for two nights and three days attending to the mill, the blankets looked good. The assayer attended to the mill, with the assistance of Mr. Hazeltine. He finished the assays at 2 a.m.,

woke me up and informed the average was \$39 a ton, which was most assuredly welcome news. Messrs. Hickman and Fitzgerald paid the difference between what was recovered in value from the ore and the price prevailing for the reduction of ore, to wit, \$60 per ton. They were honorable and ready to back their judgment. Will remark that the writer proposed to split the difference between the amount recovered and cost of milling; they were quite indignant, claiming that had the mill returned more than estimated, they would not have allowed anymore for reduction.

From that date matters progressed favorably. There was plenty of ore, and none from then on failed to pay its owners dividends. It was brought to the mill by packtrain, principally in small lots, from 500 pounds up to a few tons, also from Candelaria. The four-horse team was employed taking water to the mines, for which we received \$1.50 per barrel, returning with the ore on which transportation charges were \$8 per ton. We were very successful in the manipulation of the ores, they being very high grade, consequently in many cases ninety per cent of assay values were recovered, giving us much in excess of the \$60 per ton for reduction. There was no cleaning up on the different lots of ore, taking assays as the ore was passing through the batteries, the owners received a check for the amount less the cost of reduction, consequently times were soon booming. The town was prospering, and money plenty.

Looking across the marsh ten or fifteen miles you would observe a cloud of dust. Soon a train of donkeys would appear, with a few tons of ore. Arriving at the mill, as soon as possible the ore would be through the batteries. The miners would have their check, and they soon would be painting the town red.

The amount of bullion produced during that winter would astonish one of the present day. Three to five hundred dollars per ton was very frequent, and one lot of a few tons gave an assay value of something over \$1500. We shipped the bullion to Carson City twice each week and, after a very short period, were prepared to pay promptly for ore. Frequently the assayer would sample from sacks, when we would advance them on the ore, all of which tended to make the management of the mill quite popular. Every two weeks we received \$1000 in trade dollars, the prettiest money in the world—very convenient for playing poker, which at that period in Columbus was the favorite pastime. By the time the two weeks expired one could not find change for a ten dollar piece in town. Fish Lake Valley and Bishop would absorb it for supplies. There were no accommodations in the town for lodgings, no beds obtainable. Result, the mill was a favorite location. A flue running from the roasting furnace to the dryer near the battery for the purpose of drying the ore, constructed of concrete on the ground, was always occupied during the night, by men with their backs to the masonry. It was always warm. Dust from the battery, so thick one could almost cut it with a spoon, had no terrors. The ores usually were of the yellow chloride stamp, and usually left that color on their clothes and persons. About the engine room and the boiler it was very inconvenient for the workmen to attend to their labors.

Financially our troubles were at an end. Prior to the expiration of the thirty days we liquidated all demands. The contracts with our backers were cancelled. Ore was accumulating. We had been successful with it to the satisfaction of the producers, and demonstrated to the people of the town the justice of the faith that was in them that all that was required was a mill to reduce the ores.

About this period the old hoodoo came into evidence. The boiler was again leaking, making it very hard to make steam. Wood at \$15 a cord was an item to be reckoned with. Talk of closing the mill would

nearly or quite precipitate a riot. The town was full of miners, many of them with small lots of ores waiting for reduction. Board \$12 per week, drinks 25¢, with the no trust sign still remaining, was not pleasing. Saturday night at 6 o'clock we closed the mill for repairs, blowing the water from the boiler and running a stream of cold water through the boiler, continuously. At 12 midnight it was in such condition that one could enter the firebox. The engineers demurred at attempting to do so, claiming that one could not remain long enough to accomplish any repairs, also that the boiler could not be made to hold water.

H. M.

FINAL SHUTDOWN OF THE OLD MILL AT COLUMBUS - PRIMITIVE MARKETING

April 20, 1916

After the refusal of our engineers to enter the cooled-off boiler of the Columbus mill to make repairs, the writer and the assayer of the plant undertook the job by inserting wooden plugs into the ends of the leaking tubes. Placing what is known as a soft patch over the ends, a rod running through the tube, with a nut on either end completely closed it and putting it out of commission. Five of the worst ones were so closed, and some work was done on the rest. At 6 p.m. stamps were again dropping. Our mill force was short, owing to the expectation that the plant would be closed for a longer period, so the assayer and myself filled the gap. Monday morning found the day crew on hand for business.

During the next three weeks it was a struggle to continue operations. Each Saturday night found the situation very much as it had been the one preceding. By stopping the tubes with wooden plugs and by hard work, we managed to reduce the ore on hand at the mill. The time had arrived for the writer to depart for Aurora, where other matters required his presence. Notice was given that no more ore would be received. About this time Messrs. Hazeltine and Sweetapple commenced the construction of a modern mill, which caused much satisfaction to the citizens of the town.

When the mill was closed, nearly or quite half of the tubes were plugged. The consumption of wood was much increased, and it was hard to keep up steam. We had succeeded in producing much bullion-an amount that would hardly be credited if now stated. Taking into account the condition of the mill and all surrounding circumstances, it surely was a record. I met and passed through many strenuous periods during the early days of Nevada, but that winter in Columbus was the most strenuous of all, though one that calls to my mind many amusing circumstances.

There were those among the citizens who stood ready to assist any enterprise that promised for the welfare of the community. Had it not been for Messrs. Spence, Hickman and Fitzgerald that old hoodoo of a mill would not have produced any bullion. The writer can bear witness that during that period Columbus was "some" town. I never saw the saloons closed, the jingle of trade dollars was always in evidence, to a large majority, no doubt, a pleasant sound.

In the early part of April, I closed my connection with the mill, and with a load of salt from Rhodes Marsh, departed for Aurora, with my team and saddle horse and a fair balance to my credit, leaving the assayer in possession of the mill for further business. Should one write all the amusing occurrences in those three months, he could no doubt be dubbed a cheerful liar and candidate for the Ananias Club. There was no butcher shop in town, and no provision for slaughtering cattle. The hotel and restaurant men procured their beef from Fish Lake Valley. At certain dates one could observe a couple of horsemen

with two or three head of stock coming across the marsh on the run; awaiting them, three or four men with rifles, who stood ready to drop the animals at the point where they would be dressed. Each of those interested would then appropriate his allotted portion.

During that winter the borax excitement came on. Perhaps had I had time to take part in the rush for locations, instead of nursing an old quartz mill, I might have developed into a borax king.

H. M.

OUTPOSTS OF CIVILIZATION

by Horace Marden

This is the first of a series of articles in this department on the mining history of Bodie, by one who was there years before its boom days. Others, who went when the rush began, may differ in their versions of things, not from actual knowledge but because of erroneous statements repeated until accepted as fact. On this account, the author of these Bodie sketches hesitated to permit publication. However, his close intimacy with affairs in those times and his clear memory of them give his narrative an authenticity that makes it a reliable record on the subject. *Ed. Register.*

BODIE MINING HISTORY

October 19, 1916

Aurora was a mining camp of considerable population prior to the discovery of quartz at Bodie and location of ledges in many of the hills in that vicinity. C. B. Donnelly, formerly of Bodie, now of Oakland, informs the writer that in the fall of '60, on his way from the old Mono diggings to Aurora he camped at the flat where the town of Bodie was later located. At that period there was no one in that vicinity, neither was there any locations of quartz veins found. Placer locations had been made by Bodie, and there were some indications of work in that line. He located in Aurora.

The following summer some locations were made that attracted considerable attention at Aurora; cannot call to mind any of those making such locations, however. He does, however, recall trading some feet of claims he held at Aurora to J. A. Dearborn for feet in the Bunker Hill location, one of the first, if not the very first, locations in Bodie. He also mentions one Harlow, who was interested in the location. At that period Aurora was the center from which all activities emanated, including the Big Meadows, where the town of Bridgeport is now located.

When the writer arrived in Aurora in April, 1863, Bodie was attracting much attention. A number of men were located at Bodie, and several were employed in extracting ore. Their supplies were obtained at Aurora. The majority visited the town Saturday and Sunday.

At Bodie, on the north was located the Osceola, Tioga and several smaller veins; the names have passed from my mind. On the south slope of the hill, the mine later known as the Bechtel, was, in the early period, known by a name that has passed from me; the Bunker Hill, still further south in the flat or saddle between the hills.

Bechtel was one of the original locators. One Sam Jones was another; he lost his life by freezing, prior to the advent of the writer, leaving a wife and two children at Aurora. As the story is told, he was working at the mine and living in a cabin near by. He started after supper to visit those at the Bunker Hill mine, the cabin of which was in sight and its light in view when he started. It was snowing slightly at the time. The distance was less than half a mile. A snow squall closed down and obscured the light. He soon lost his bearings and, at that high altitude, it did not take very long for him to get exhausted. He was rescued by those at the Bunker Hill cabin. Though out in the snow but a very short time, he was so frozen that he died from the effects. He was the second the storm god had claimed, Bodie, discoverer of the camp, being the first.

When the writer arrived in Aurora, a mill at the junction of the Aurora and Bodie canyons known as

the Dow mill was being reconstructed, introducing modern machinery to reduce the ore from Bodie. One Stark, a very prominent theatrical manager, also an actor of some note, and Tucker, a jeweler of San Francisco, had purchased the Bunker Hill, or a controlling interest. A large amount of capital was used in purchasing and remodeling the mill. Wheeler amalgamating pans, the latest at that period, were installed. A fast motion pan was much sought after to grind the ore rapidly. The work was under the direct supervision of Wheeler, and was rushed regardless of expense. A contract had been let to a man with a couple of ox teams to transport the ore to the mill, eleven miles. The contract price was \$4.50 per ton. Only one run of ore was made; results were not favorable. The mill was sold to the Del Monte company. Stark and Tucker faded from view as factors in the mining world, leaving but a memory. The mill was always known as the Stark and Tucker mill until it burned during the Greeley regime.

Bechtel was always a resident of Aurora, Justice of the Peace, mine owner, etc. He was a man of many sides, and arrogated to himself considerable style. In the fall of '61 a considerable amount of ore had accumulated at the mine. He made a contract with Mr. Poor of Aurora to transport it to the mill in Bodie canyon, near the Stark and Tucker, known as the Bodie mill. My first acquaintance with him was an introduction by Mr. Poor, coupled with the remark, "This man is destined ere long to be very wealthy." One could not help being favorably impressed—well dressed, a gold-headed cane, he surely looked the capitalist. Mr. Poor's teams were rushing the ore to the mill. A prolonged run was made. The result was not satisfactory. Mr. Poor informed me later that others were the losers, not Bechtel. The gentleman surely experienced many lean days with others who were compelled to remain in that vicinity.

The next attempt to operate the mines of Bodie was in 1865. The fall previous the Osceola, Tioga and other locations at the north end of Bodie Bluff were purchased by an incorporation of New York people known as the Empire company. In the spring of '65 they moved from Aurora a sixteen-stamp mill known as the Fogus mill. They erected a building of bricks procured in Aurora; \$10 per thousand was the cost of transportation. The lumber was \$65 per thousand. A large boarding house was erected and lathed and plastered; also a fine brick office elaborately furnished; a large safe put in the mill. It was one of the most complete and up-to-date establishments that had been erected at that period.

H. O. Cutler was the millwright who supervised the construction and, on its completion, was the superintendent of the mine and mill. The establishment became the Syndicate mill of Bodie fame. It commenced reducing ore in the fall of '65, possibly March. During the time the amount of bullion shipped was an unknown quantity. Something was wrong with the amalgamation. Changes of amalgamators and new processes of manipulating the ore were tried. The history of the attempts made during that period to recover the values supposed to be contained in the ore would be interesting if it could be written. The ores were of low grade, values principally low gold; the bullion value was \$9.50 to \$15 per ounce. Their pans were the rapid-motion style. Modes of procedure were the same as practiced at Virginia City, using sulphate of copper with other chemicals. It did not result as expected, as the treatment of the Bodie character of ore required treatment different from those carrying a large percentage of silver. The ore also contained black oxide of manganese and antimony, quicksilver. Having an affinity to some extent for both of these metals caused the quicksilver to reach a very bad condition at times. These causes added to the cost of wood and, with many other difficulties, caused the

closing of both mine and mill. The Empire company had many expert millmen and amalgamators, mining experts, etc. during the period it was operating. Among these was Professor Silliman, a celebrated geologist from one of the eastern colleges, Yale or Harvard, to examine and pass upon the mine and its possibilities. I listened to a lecture delivered by him in Aurora when on that visit in which he predicted that some day there would be found in those hills of Bodie the most valuable gold deposits ever known. How well I remember that prediction, also the many arguments put forth by the wise ones of those days! What did a man know of such matters who had never been underground and could not see any further into the rock than anyone else? One of the oracles in Aurora was particularly caustic in his remarks, also when the attempt was made in 1876. Dire predictions were made of what would follow. When the first shipment of bullion was made, he would not believe, but asserted that some amalgam had been obtained to pad results for the purpose of selling the stock. Later the wonderful results from the strike in the Bodie mine in 1878, verifying the prediction made by Professor Silliman, brought from him only an acknowledgement that the professor was good guesser. All his predictions proving failures, to my knowledge he never visited Bodie half a dozen times during the stirring days.

No doubt many will ask the question, why the repeated failures during the early period? From the experience and observations acquired in reducing small lots from Bodie during the period from the fall of '66 to '76, it was largely due to the machinery used, with the further fact that the proper treatment of the ore was not understood. Also, the ore was a low-grade proposition. The cost of operating mills, at the early period, with the cost of transportation of the ore to the mills, were the principal factors in the results obtained.

H. M.

BODIE MINING HISTORY (Continued)

October 26, 1916

In 1865 there was a location known as the Homestake, the ore of which carried very high values. A company had been incorporated to erect a mill and reduce the ores; it was known as the Homestake mining company. It procured the Gregory mill at Aurora, twelve stamps with amalgamating machinery, and moved it to Bodie. It was erected where the town of Bodie was later situated. The mill was in operation the fall and winter of that year, cannot say how long, but a very short time however. It failed to recover the values to the satisfaction of the company and closed down. Reason assigned, the mineral grease in the ore caused the fouling of the quicksilver to such an extent that it would not save the values; in addition, there was a loss of quicksilver also. The ore carried quite a per cent of black oxide of manganese, with some antimony. Both had an affinity for quicksilver under method of introducing chemicals then in vogue for the amalgamation of silver ore. This was no doubt the cause of failure.

During the summer of '66 a number of men were employed in the mine. In the fall some trouble arose; the miners had not received their pay. The writer's recollections of the circumstances is that they either filed a lien or in some manner they took over the ore for the amount due. At this point one Mose Robinson advanced the miners some money, taking the ore as security, with the further understanding that when the ore was reduced, the miners would receive a per cent of values recovered

above the amount of advance. Neither Robinson nor the miners had any confidence in the Homestake mill. It was agreed that a certain number of tons for a test should be reduced at Aurora in the Coffee mill to determine the values-further that one of their number should have employment at the mill, attending to the pans, to observe there was no deception as to results.

By mutual consent, John Neidy, the oracle and mining expert, was employed to do the reduction stunt. It was soon discovered by Neidy and Robinson that the ore was of greater value than anticipated. During the absence of the man who was supposed to watch the interest of the miners, the stamps were hung up and a portion of the amalgam removed. Quicksilver had been introduced into the batteries for amalgamating purposes, the values being largely gold, a large per cent would be found at that point. When the cleanup took place there was much disappointment. The mill was condemned, and the man who was on watch was suspicioned also. After several days of loud talk Robinson made the miners an offer for the ore, paying them in full for their demands and a small bonus as well, Robinson and Neidy purchasing the ore. The settlement being completed and the miners releasing all claims to the ore, Robinson and Neidy transported it to Aurora for reduction. That test lot of ore was the first received at the Coffee mill. At the time I was employed by Coffee, and it was my first experience in that line of endeavor. I observed what was taking place, as an employee of Coffee; but it was none of my affair. To keep my mouth closed and attend to the business of running the mill was what was expected by Mr. Coffee. Robinson and Neidy brought nearly or quite one hundred tons the mill, exceedingly rich ore. Bret Harte's Heathen Chinees had nothing on some of those early-day manipulators purchasing ore and milling it.

Will relate one other circumstance attending the milling of that lot of ore. Robinson and Neidy employed the man who was the miners' representative to the mill during the run on the test lot. He soon learned that he with others had been deceived in some manner and no doubt considered that he had some rights that had been denied him. He concluded he would help himself to that which in his own estimation he had an undoubted right. Neidy came to the mill daily and drew from one of the pans a cup of quicksilver which he would strain. From the amount of amalgam obtained he determined approximately the amount of value being recovered. He took the pans in rotation. Near the end of the first week's run, he tapped the last pan in the string. Lo and behold the amount of amalgam was short, way short. He cleaned up the pan immediately. Robinson and Coffee were sent for, and a council of war immediately convened. The writer was interviewed; of course noncommittal. Oh how Neidy and Robinson squealed! They prepared to have the pan man arrested-would make an example of him, etc. It was suggested that they prove that he was the one. It was proposed that they visit his cabin that night and accuse him of robbing the mill; perhaps he would give up some of the loot. They recovered three or four pounds of the amalgam. That was all that could be found about his cabin. On their return to the mill that night they were loud in their talk of what they were to do. This thing of looting the mill had to be stopped. It was suggested by one of the party present that perhaps it would be better to drop it, as it might bring to light some matters previously taking place in the manipulation of the Homestake ore. The conversation ceased very suddenly after that suggestion and nothing more was done in the premises.

Later the Homestake mine and mill came into the possession of ex-Governor Blaisdell. A couple of attempts were made to operate the mine in the late '60s. In each instance but one, run of ore was

attempted. The mill was sold in the latter part of the '60s and removed to near Pine Grove, Esmeralda county. Governor Blaisdell retained possession of the mine. During the boom period it was incorporated and known as the Bulwer. Later with the Standard it erected the Bulwer-Standard mill of thirty stamps, fifteen for each company.

The Bunker Hill location came into the possession of Mooney, Walker, Essington and Lockbury, just as what date and under what conditions the writer has no knowledge. In March, '67 they brought a few tons of ore to the Coffee mill for a test as to values, the writer's first acquaintance with these gentlemen. Later they erected an arrastra on Rough creek, propelled by an overshot water wheel. Mooney dropped out of the company to run for the California Legislature. The other three partners continued to operate until 1872, with varied success. They became indebted to the colored gentleman with the Irish name, O'Hara. At that time, and from the date of closing the Empire mill, he had been the watchman for the company. In the fall of 1872 they turned the property over to O'Hara for a sum due him. A year later O'Hara offered the property to Leir, Fague and the writer for the amount due him, to wit, \$950, with the condition that the sum should be obtained from the proceeds of the mine. If not, it could at any time be turned back to him.

In the summer of 1877, Mr. Walker located a ledge on the south slope of Bodie Bluff, known as the Tioga. In the fall of '78 he received appointment as superintendent of a mine at Aurora. The last day he had expected to work at the Tioga, he fell head first down the shaft and was instantly killed. Mr. Walker had been on of those men in the early day period who had been actively engaged in and about the mines of Bodie; a genial, whole-souled gentleman, a man of more than ordinary ability in the mining world of that day.

H. M.

BODIE MINING HISTORY (con't)

November 2, 1916

During the period from 1867 to 1876 there was work done in the way of extracting small lots of ore. Assorted very closely, it was taken to Aurora for reduction in the Coffee mill. Some of these lots paid very handsomely, while others would barely pay cost of transportation and reduction. Many of the experiences of these days were assuredly very amusing. One who operated a custom mill at that period required the patience of Job and the hide of a rhinoceros, for he had to stand many things not wholly agreeable.

When the Empire ceased operations in the spring of '67 a number of tons of ore remained on the dump at the mill; there were also a number of cords of wood on hand. Experts were sent by the company at various times to determine if possible the cause of the failure. One arrived at Aurora during the winter of 1868 with a process that was surely a winner, a Beeser process. Its plan included a couple of cylinders eight feet long with cast iron core thirty-six inches diameter. This was in the month of January. No roads were open to Bodie. A couple of sleds were constructed with broad runners to transport them to their destination. Men were employed on snowshoes as the native power. A run was made with most unusual results. During the spring and summer of '68 there were several experts who claimed they had the dope in the matter of combination of chemicals. In the interval they would

cause a testing of ore to be brought to the Coffee mill to demonstrate that they could reduce the ore and save the values. It was amusing to watch them perform. Looking very wise, they would guard their mixture with great care, fearing that some one would discover their secret. There was one who came from New York, a very pompous looking gentleman, very mysterious in all movements and actions. He had an order from the company to turn over the mill and all pertaining thereto. He took complete possession and proceeded to business.

During the time the mill was in operation the loss of quicksilver per ton of ore reduced was considerable. This gentleman insisted there was a leak someplace about the mill, which would account for the trouble. He made a tryer similar to those used in sampling flour in barrels. He proceeded to insert that into all conceivable places in and about the mill. After some three weeks investigation, during which time, he also made a test run to the mill at Aurora, he left for New York. That was the last seen of him, or the results he obtained. He was also the last of the experts sent by the Empire company to investigate the affairs of that enterprise.

The watchman of the mill was an old-time friend of the writer from the early period of Columbia, Tuolumne County. He suggested that any time when convenient I could come to the mill and take whatever ore was required for a milling test at the Coffee mill in Aurora with the understanding that the watchman would be informed of the result, and what amount of bullion obtained. This was done on five different occasions. When the mill was not otherwise employed, the watchman would assist in sacking, weighing and loading, keeping account of the ore removed, usually five tons. By introducing quicksilver into the batteries to aid the amalgamation of the manganese and antimony, I succeeded in recovering most of the values, demonstrating that the ores were of rather low grade. As the writer did most of the work on these occasions, the amount of value recovered would cover the cost of transportation and reduction. The watchman was furnished in each instance with a duplicate return from the assayer, the number of ounces, the fineness and value. These returns were much in evidence later.

In the spring of '72 Captain Taylor, superintendent of the Yellow Jacket mine, and Levy Dague, a millman of the same locality, had procured a lease from the Empire company, and commenced operations. They employed a few men in the mine, also made many changes in the mill. Removing most of the old Wheeler pans they installed what was known as a Rooler pan, very fast grinding, capable of reducing much more ore per day; object, to reduce the cost of milling. In the mine, a large amount of ore was decomposed and easily reduced. In running it from the tunnel and delivering on a "grizzly", the fine ore would drop through while the coarse would go to the shute to be reduced under the stamps, the fine or decomposed ore passing direct to the pans, thereby decreasing the number of men employed as well as increasing the capacity of the mill and reducing the cost of reduction. The writer was a personal friend of Mr. Dague and had much knowledge pertaining to that attempt. I transported the ore to the mill and delivered most of the wood consumed.

During the winter of '72 and '73 a small force of miners were employed opening up the mine. The following summer the mill was kept in operation. Results not proving satisfactory, the mine and mill were closed in September, paying all demands. Captain Taylor did not lose faith in the mine, and, later when the Syndicate mine was promoted by Warren Rose, Captain Taylor was one of the incorporators.

In the fall of '73, Essington and Lockburg, having become indebted to O'Hara, the watchman at the Empire mill, in the sum of \$900, turned the Bunker Hill mine, including their arastra with the water power on Rough creek, to him and departed for pastures new, broke. At that date O'Hara offered the mine and all connected therewith to Mr. Dague and the writer for the amount due, with the condition that if the mine did not pay, they could, at any time, return the mine to him.

In the late '60s a young man by the name of Butler had the contract to transport the ore from the Bunker Hill to the arastras on Rough creek. Late in the fall he took his team of cattle to the Big Meadows, near Bridgeport, for the purpose of wintering them. There was snow on the ground at that time, and it was very cold. Leaving Bridgeport for Bodie one morning, the weather promising favorable, one of those sudden blizzards arose ere he reached his destination. Owing to the high altitude he was overcome and added to the number of victims of the storm-god, the third in this record.

From the closing of the Empire property at Bodie in '67 there was no attempt to keep open the road from Aurora or elsewhere. All communication was on snowshoes. There were no stores or other places of business at Bodie until the fall of '76 or winter of '77. What little business there was was transacted at Aurora. Most of those, interested in Bodie, were residents of Aurora as well as those employed. Bechtel was always a resident or office-holder; so were Judge J. G. McClinton and other whose names have passed from me.

Late in the fall of '74 Essington and Lockburg returned to Bodie in the same condition as when they left-broke. They applied to O'Hara for funds to take them through the winter, representing to him that in the Bunker Hill there was a small stringer of ore remaining from which they could produce ore that would reimburse for the accommodation, if he would let them into the mine and allow them the use of the arastra. He informed them that they could go into the mine and should they succeed in finding ore that would pay for mining and loan they could have the property. They produced a small amount of ore that fall and reduced it at the arastra. The following winter, while drifting on that small stringer, on returning their work one morning they found what they had considered the hanging wall had caved and exposed the body of ore that sold the property and made Bodie famous. Had they cross-cutted any time previous, they would have opened up the mine and no doubt changed the history and fortunes of many.

H. M.

BODIE MINING HISTORY (Continued)

November 9, 1916

Previous to 1875 the Empire company had for some reason each year let their taxes become delinquent, and their property was sold. Usually the watchman or one of his friends would be the purchaser. A few days before the end of the redemption period the money would arrive. That condition existed until 1875. The company at that time was indebted to the watchman, O'Hara, for services and money advanced for assessment on the locations. In 1875 the money failed to reach Bridgeport in time for redemption of the property. O'Hara had the Sheriff's deed to the mill.

The assessment work not having been performed for the year 1875, Mr. Rose and his friends were on the ground January 1, 1876 and relocated the different mines. The situation was now favorable for

the formation of a company, which Mr. Rose proceeded to accomplish. Perhaps at this late period some may consider there was some sharp practice in the manner of the transfer of title. O'Hara was most assuredly within his rights. The company in New York had taken all the advantages possible, not only with O'Hara but with Mono county as well to retain possession of the property with as small outlay as possible, during the eight years from the closing of the mine and mill to the early winter of 1876.

Mr. Rose promoted the Syndicate Mining company. H. M. Yerington, Captain Taylor, George Hopkins, Mr. Ralston and two others whose names I do not recall were the incorporators. H. M. Yerington was elected president, Hopkins secretary, a Mr. Hall of Aurora treasurer, Warren Rose superintendent. Mr. Hall was Wells, Fargo's agent at Aurora and conducted a small banking business through which O'Hara had operated when attending to business pertaining to the affairs of the Empire mining company at Bridgeport and elsewhere.

With the mill in the possession of O'Hara and the mines in the hands of Mr. Rose and his friends, it did not require a large amount of capital to commence operations. The company was incorporated with fifty thousand shares, par value one hundred dollars.

Mr. Rose consulted Mr. Walker, a man that had been in and about Bodie for several years and was well versed and familiar with the mines and character of the ore. Having had much experience in the Bunker Hill, the writer was consulted as to the probable cost of milling, based upon the experience acquired in reducing small lots of the ore at Aurora. On these reports the company proceeded to business. The question most pressing was : can the ore be reduced to cover the values obtained from these test lots of ore reduced at the Coffee mill at Aurora? If so, it would leave a margin of profit. Mr. Rose and others of the company were conversant with milling of ores on the Comstock where the fast motion pans were in operation and the grinding or reducing was largely accomplished in the pans. It was decided, after many consultations and arguments, that the attempt should be made.

The slow motion pans were installed in the early spring. A few men were employed at the mine and Mr. Walker was installed as foreman. The writer was sent to Carson to consult with Mr. Yerington as to changes required in the mill. My acquaintance with Mr. Yerington was limited, as I had met the gentleman but a few times. Presenting my letter of introduction from Mr. Rose, stating the object of my visit, I soon discovered that I was in the presence of a many-sided man, a "live wire." Mr. Yerington had been a millman in the early days of the Comstock. The grilling he gave me will long be remembered. Being, of course, an unknown quantity, from a dead mining camp, it appeared to me at times that it was very presumptuous on my part to present or advance any ideas or suggestions based on my limited experience with a little old "coffee-grinder", as he expressed it. However, all things have an end and, after some three hours' interview, he handed me a letter to the draftsman of the machine shops of the V. & T. R. R. with carte blanche to construct any machinery required for the Syndicate mining company. Will remark in passing that no man ever had a more true and loyal friend than the writer had in H. M. Yerington as long as I remained in that state.

There was a very heavy fall of snow the winter of '76. Consequently we were late in the spring getting the machinery installed. At the mill all the old machinery was removed except the batteries; we made some changes in these, introducing self-feeders and other innovations to reduce the number of men employed, thereby reducing expenses.

On the 10th of July the stamps of the Syndicate mill commenced dropping and they continued to make music for a number of years. During the period of construction of the mill a ten cent assessment was levied on the capital stock, the only one levied so far as the writer is aware. H.M.

BODIE MINING HISTORY (continued)

November 16, 1916

When the Syndicate Mining Company commenced operations at Bodie, there were only six men in that vicinity. In the early part of September the first shipment of bullion was made to the Carson mint. Returns showed a small profit above mining and production, the cost of which proved to be less than estimated; the mining was slightly in excess of Mr. Walker's figures, but the reduction was something less, owing to some extent to the loss of quicksilver per ton being much less than anticipated as well as to a small increase in the capacity of the mill. When results from the first shipment of bullion were published, Bodie soon began to attract attention. Complimentary notices relating to the old camp coming back were printed in the press.

At this period the exposure of ore in the Bunker Hill was known to the management of the Sydicate. Some of the history of that time will not be chronicled, though all but two of those conversant with the facts have passed to the great beyond. Mr. Rose had great confidence in the mines at Bodie and made every effort to consolidate with the Bunker Hill. A small amount of money was required. The promoters of the sydicate were not all as sanguine as Mr. Rose and did not fully agree with him as to the possible future of the mines. The history of the camp, with its repeated failures to reduce the ores, did not tend to inspire confidence in the future.

Shortly after the first shipment of bullion from the Syndicate, one George Story, a mining promoter, very quietly arrived. He was known to but few in the vicinity. The writer had met him some years previously at Mrs. Hasby's but did not meet him in (San Francisco ?)---met him some year---no opinion on ---\$75,000 price named. Leaving as quietly as he had come, he went to San Francisco. A few days later, John Boyd, a mining expert, put in an appearance and examined the mine. He made no secret of the business, visiting the mill and inquiring as to the value of the ore the mill was reducing, cost per ton for reduction, how close the mill was saving values, etc.

Shortly after Boyd's departure news was received that the Bunker Hill had been sold to San Francisco parties. Seth and Daniel Cook were the purchasers of two thirds, and William Lent and John Boyd of one third. Had it not been for one man's interference, possibly the history of Bodie would be written differently. When Essington and Lockburg went for their money, they had given away their deal. They received \$65,000 while Story received 1000 shares of the stock of the Standard Mining Company in lieu of the \$10,000 he was to receive from Essington and Lockburg--later proving to be a much larger compensation.

The parties purchasing the Bunker Hill incorporated the Standard Mining Company with 50,000 shares, par value \$100 each. Some time in October, William Irwin arrived as superintendent, bringing a small hoisting rig which he proceeded to erect. From then matters moved rapidly.

It was getting late in the season. Wood for fuel, lumber, timber, etc. was required. Water had to be hauled up the hill for use in the boiler of the hoist; all of which caused many in the vicinity to sit up

and take notice. Arrival of a number of miners to work in the mines changed the appearance of conditions very much.

Soon after the completion of the hoist Mr. Boyd arrived. With Mr. Irwin he applied to Mr. Rose of the Syndicate company to reduce a thousand tons of ore from the Standard mine. Well does the writer have a vivid recollection of that day. The Standard people demanded to know what per cent the Syndicate company would guarantee to return on assay values, also as to cost of reduction and transportation, with several other details. After listening to the very many points raised, Mr. Rose had but one proposition—"will transport and reduce your ore for a sum named, guaranteeing nothing as to results. The returns from the Syndicate ore proving satisfactory, will return you the best results possible." The reader will bear in mind that all parties to the transaction were entire strangers. However the contract was closed; the Standard company to furnish twenty-five tons per day.

About the middle of November the mill was started on Standard ore. Messrs. Boyd and Irwin were much in evidence about the mill the first two or three days; after that we saw little of either of them. Mr. Boyd soon departing for San Francisco. Very soon there was good production of amalgam. The number of pounds daily reported to Mr. Irwin seemed to be very gratifying to that gentleman, while it caused considerable anxiety to Mr. Rose and the writer, as facilities for safely keeping amalgam or bullion were not very adequate. When the job was half completed, Mr. Irwin was requested to receive the bullion on hand. He came to the mill with a two-horse dead axle wagon, driver, and two guards armed with double-barreled shotguns. Young Mr. Irwin was mounted to ride in advance of the wagon. About the time the outfit was to move, Mr. Irwin discovered that his guards had braced up their courage with something stimulating. He called the writer from the mill, and, at his request, I accompanied them, amounting my sulky and bringing up the rear of the procession. As we proceeded down the canyon towards Aurora, the guards' courage increased until young Mr. Irwin was compelled to ride in the wagon for fear some of the party might be injured ere we reached our destination. That was the advance lot of many thousand dollars of bullion shipped from the Standard mine.

On completion of the reduction of that thousand-ton lot of ore, the returns were \$52 per ton. The bullion was in excess of 900 fine. All doubts were removed as to satisfactory reduction of ore, making the prospects of Bodie very flattering as to the future.

The Syndicate company had made no work and farm processing operations at the highest price. The last day of December the mill was closed. The writer ceased his connection with the Syndicate as an employee, having other interests requiring his attention.

The Standard had acquired wood and other material, and during the winter continued sinking their shaft, prospecting and opening up the mine, accumulating quite a quantity of ore on the dump.

There had been no attempt during the summer and fall by anyone to start any sort of business. Some time late in December, Jesse Summers, Henry Williams and Joseph Kingsley erected a building for a butcher shop, also one for a lodging house. The ground suitable for building at that date was limited. The north end of the flat, as one approached it from Aurora, was narrow. Further south, the surface was full of small springs, causing it to be very wet and marshy and full of water during the larger portion of the summer. Early in the spring of '77 A. F. Bryant and associates opened a store near the butcher shop. B. Smith soon followed with a branch of his Aurora establishment. Henry Hightman and

William Connor erected a thirst parlor backed with the wealth acquired by Lockwood from the sale of the Bunker Hill. Such was the nucleus around which later grew the celebrated town of Bodie.

H. M.

BODIE MINING HISTORY (Continued)

November 23, 1916

In the spring of '7 the Standard company contracted with the Del Monte company to transport and reduce thirty-five tons of ore per day; time limit, until the snow compelled the non-use of wagons. After some changes to increase the mill's capacity, it was put in operation.

During the summer of '76 the General Thomas mining company of Columbus had purchased the Del Monte mill, thirty stamps, at the junction of Aurora and Bodie canyons, and had dismantled it, intending its removal to Columbus. From some cause the plans were changed. During the winter the Standard company purchased it and early in the spring transported it to Bodie and commenced its erection there. Early in the fall of that year the mill was completed. It was located at the foot of the hill bordering on the south end of the flat covered by springs. It was a much mooted question at the time whether they would have water enough to supply a mill of the capacity under construction. The company had acquired a small spring one-fourth mile from the mill site. Its water was piped to the mill; also a well was sunk on the edge of the flat. When the well reached bedrock, a drift was run across the flat, thereby draining all that portion of the flat, on the south end, covered by the springs. An abundance of water was secured and a large area of land was reclaimed for building purposes.

During that summer Bechtel disposed of his location. A company had been incorporated known as the Bechtel mining company. Ex-Senator Stewart was the president, a Mr. Harper superintendent. Mr. Harper arrived late in the fall. Shortly afterward a small hoisting rig was installed and was soon hoisting ore. Returns from test lots reduced at the Coffee mill in Aurora in years previous were once more produced to demonstrate values. The contract of the Standard company with the Syndicate mill was about to expire on account of storms. Senator Stewart arrived, saw the ore accumulating on the dump of the Bechtel and was very anxious to have it reduced. He interviewed Mr. Rose of the Syndicate and insisted that the mill should reduce one thousand tons from the Bechtel mine. While the Syndicate had an abundance of wood piled at the mill, no other provision had been made for operating. The winter months were not promising for the transportation of ores owing to the heavy snowfall and many other disadvantages. Mr. Rose fought shy of the proposition, informing the Senator there was no provision made by the contractor who did that end of the business; no hay or grain provided; sleighs no doubt would have to be constructed, etc; all of which the Senator insisted must be overcome. Mr. Rose finally consented if the contractor would undertake his part of the job. The writer, who happened to be the contractor, was absent in Carson with freight teams. On my return I was informed by Mr. Rose what he had done and asked if I would stand by the conditions named by the Senator. One was that if it became necessary to construct sleighs, the Bechtel company would stand half the expense. I consented, provided hay and grain could be secured before the storms came. The freight teams were returned to Carson for grain and to Bridgeport for hay, contracting for a certain number of tons, stipulating a price of five dollars per ton in excess of prevailing rates, conditioned on delivery on or before a certain date. I succeeded in procuring both hay and grain just prior to the first storm and immediately commenced the

construction of sleighs.

Just as the first sleighs were completed the storm god was much in evidence. Prior to that period it had been considered almost an impossibility to attempt to do work with teams on account of the inclement weather and heavy fall of snow. The Bechtel mine was something over 9,000 feet elevation, one mile and three fourths from the mill. That winter demonstrated what could be accomplished. It was assuredly no job for weaklings. Many mornings the mercury was below zero. It surely tried men's metal. We continued on Bechtel ore until spring.

H. M.

BODIE MINING HISTORY (Continued)

November 30, 1916

During the spring and summer of '77 there were many new arrivals, much prospecting and a number of new locations.

The original Bunker Hill location was on a vein of which the dip or underlie was 30 or 35 degrees west. During the winter of '76-'77 the shaft was continued on the incline of this vein, attaining a depth of 330 to 350 feet, where it was found to be much broken, consisting of small stringers of quartz, porphyry and clay, carrying no values.

The writer had many interesting interviews and discussions with Mr. Irwin, the superintendent, during the spring and summer of that year, as to the future prospects of the mine as well as the more permanent outlook and future prospects of the camp. His opinion expressed was that if the vein did not straighten up at depth, with a dip to east, they would have no very extensive mine. They had, however, plenty of ore developed at that date to reimburse the company for its investment and a very handsome profit in addition. Mr. Irwin was a man of much experience as a miner; from my observation and association with him, a man of most excellent judgment pertaining to that line of endeavor. I had occasion to do much business with him in many lines; he always appeared able to arrive by intuition at a conclusion that produced results. He was a man of very few words, never heralded to any what conclusions he had formed or why. His judgment was most excellent in all pertaining to or in any way connected with the mining or milling business.

He did not attempt to crosscut from the bottom of the Bunker Hill incline but went directly west a few hundred feet. The incline on the Bunker Hill was on the eastern slope of the hill, making the location of the new shaft at a considerable elevation above the original. He commenced sinking a vertical shaft. A short distance from the surface he encountered a vein of considerable width, carrying good values. That was the vein that made the Standard mine famous and produced the bullion that paid the individuals for a number of years.

Some time in the fall of '76 or the following winter a location was made directly south of the original Bunker Hill and adjoining it. Sinking on a small stringer of quartz carrying small values at the depth of about 100 feet, the owners disposed of their holdings to William Lent and John Boyd; reported price obtained, \$10,000.

The purchasers proceeded to incorporate with 50,000 shares, par value \$100 each. This was the mine known as the Bodie, that made the camp famous and astonished the mining world, verifying the prediction of Professor Silliman of Aurora in 1866 that some day there would be discovered the richest

gold deposits ever known. Late in the fall of '77 the Bodie company erected a small steam hoist and continued the sinking of the shaft. Mr. Irwin was their superintendent. At the depth of about 400 feet the small stringer of quartz had disappeared.

Mr. Irwin, in sinking the new shaft of the Standard, encountered a well defined vein which from all appearances was the principal vein of the camp. He concluded that no doubt crosscutting directly west would encounter a continuation of that vein. After going west 250 perhaps 300 feet he encountered what was known as the Bruce vein. After continuing the crosscut a short distance, he came upon what was known as the Burgess vein. From these two veins the wonderful stream of bullion was produced that precipitated the Bodie boom.

In the spring and summer of '77 a number of locations were made south of those mentioned. The most notable were the Noondays, North and South. They were incorporated that winter. Ex-Senator Stewart was the president. During the winter and early spring a shaft was sunk. A short distance from the surface a body of ore was encountered of fair values. A whim was erected for hoisting purposes early in the spring. The Sundicate mill had ceased operations on Bechtel ore and had been engaged to reduce ore from the Noondays. Thirty tons per day taxed the capacity of the whim. Six horses were used, two on each shift of eight hours. If one could relate the many amusing circumstances that occurred, with a very jolly and witty Irishman as chief engineer, it would be worth telling.

The writer's teams were employed in the transportation of the ore. With the superintendent of the mill at one end of the job fearing he would have to hang up some of the stamps and the chief engineer at the other with his motive powers taxed to the limit, it was interesting. They continued shipping ore for sixty days, when that ceased, to erect a steam hoist. They continued to send twelve tons a day to the Miners' mill during most of the summer.

The Syndicate was immediately employed on Standard ore. About July 1st the Bodie company had accumulated considerable ore on their dump and the management was very anxious to reduce some of its ore to determine its milling value. The Standard consenting, the Syndicate was soon in operation on ore from the Bodie. The Bodie company had made no provision for handling their ores by gravitation, consequently it had to be shoveled into the wagons. The superintendent expressed to the contractor his lack of knowledge of just what the ore would yield, neither did he know how extensive the deposit, just what could be produced, or how long he could continue sending ore to the mill. When the mill commenced operation, there was a surprise awaiting all parties concerned in the amount of amalgam in evidence. For fear the mill did not retain all the values, the Bodie manager caused a reduction of five tons each twenty-four hours, paying the same for that amount as for the full capacity of the mill. There were few who were conversant with the amount per ton in values recovered. The returns were very gratifying to the stockholders, six weeks run of thirty-eight dollars per share on fifty thousand shares, increasing the value of the shares from \$1.25 in April to \$52 in August. Most assuredly the boom was on!

Visiting the top of Bodie bluff any time of day, one could view the roads leading to town, down the canyon from Aurora, from the direction of Bridgeport, across the desert towards Adobe Meadows, clouds of dust were in evidence, out of which all sorts of conveyances would emerge-men on horseback, driving or leading a pack animal, the patient donkey with the inevitable prospector plodding his weary

way, ever following the lure of the golden fleece.

From this period on for some time, it would be utterly impossible for a chronicler to follow events as they transpired. One can hardly conceive, much less realize, the condition that would change a barren waste of sagebrush on the tip of a mountain nearly 9,000 feet elevation, with limited amount of water, where but six people existed in June, 1876, to a place where, in December '79 and the winter of '80, 8,000 was the estimated population. It became metropolitan in all that makes a bustling, hustling town—two banks, three daily papers, Masons, I. O. O. F., Knights of Pythias lodges, five quartz mills in operation, eighty-two stamps dropping continuously, turning out a wonderful stream of bullion; all this accomplished in less than three years.

H. M.

BODIE MINING HISTORY (Continued)

December 7, 1916

During the years of '76 and '77 and that portion of '78 until the development of the Bodie mine, the camp had not attracted much attention. The Standard company had completed their mill. Developments in their new shaft, coupled with notice of their first dividend of one dollar per share on the capital stock of 50,000 shares, the erection of their mill with no assessment levied, the wonderful returns from the Bodie, caused the mining world, with many others, to sit up and take notice. Prior to this period there had been but little expansion to the town. Silas B. Smith's and A. F. Bryant's merchandising establishments, one butcher shop, one lodging house, two or three thirst parlors, with a couple of boarding houses on the hill, constituted the town. Aurora also was receiving much benefit from the improved condition at Bodie. A daily stage plying between the two places added to the convenience of both. The post and express offices were at Aurora up to this time. The daily stage from Carson ended its trip there also.

One can hardly realize the change that took place that fall, commencing in October. Lots were in demand for various purposes. Teams soon lined the roads from Carson City, loaded with lumber and other material for the erection of buildings as well as other sorts of material required for business purposes, noticeably for restaurants, lodging houses and saloons. Gilson & Barbour, well known merchants of Carson City, commenced the erection of a large and extensive stock of merchandise. Also a building was erected for a drugstore, modern in its appointments. The lumber for these improvements was freighted on wagons from Carson City, the nearest railroad station, 112 miles away. The discovery of the extensive vein in the new shaft of the Standard mine compelled the erection of a large and extensive hoist, making another addition to the demand for transportation facilities. At that date, and earlier, the writer was engaged in that line of business and had the contract with the Syndicate, Standard and Bodie companies to do their transportation from Carson, contracts to terminate the 15th of November.

About the 10th of October Mr. Boyd arrived in Bodie with an inquiry as to whether it could and would be possible to deliver in Bodie 80,000 pounds of freight ere the storms arrived. Most assuredly that was a hard one, with every available team employed and with thirty days time limit on a contract. A date was named when we would meet in Carson and decide. After discussing the question, he informed me the material must go forward regardless of expense; to do the best possible under the circumstances.

He then left for the city.

The men who promoted the Standard and Bodie mining companies were men whose words were as good as their bonds. One could rely on what they said-only do the work. Shortly after, the material commenced to arrive in Carson-iron and steel, giant powder, candles for the mine, supplies for the mill, including casting, oils, quicksilver, etc; in addition, a hoisting engine with cables, cars, and all other items that make up a first-class hoisting rig. One piece of machinery, after being stripped of all parts possible, weighed 27,000 pounds. When all the material had arrived and gone forward, it proved to be in excess of eighty tons. Those were stirring days. Fortunately the storms did not arrive. The weather was very cold, and there was much ice on the road from Aurora to Bodie, making it quite difficult to hold the wagons on the road in many places. There was only one accident, however, that resulted in much damage. One teamster upset his wagon, down the canyon from Aurora, destroying completely the ten foot sheaves over which the hoisting cables were to run. One other upset took place in the Bodie canyon. A ten-horse loaded with giant powder upset. The front wagon went into Bodie creek bottom side up. The bed of the creek was dry. Fortunately the powder did not explode. Some days afterward the writer met that driver in Carson. His face was very dirty; when the fact was mentioned to him, his reply was that he had not washed it since the accident for fear his friends would observe how pale he was from the fright when his wagon went over the grade.

You can hardly realize what did occur, or the excitement created on the road south from Carson City. Those people along that highway who had formerly been catering to the limited travel and the few teams occasionally plodding that weary way suddenly had all accommodations taxed to the limit and wondered what it was all about. The writer observed and participated in several excitements in the early-day period of California history since 1851, but nothing however to compare with the excitement and activity of the Bodie boom during the months of October and November of the year 1878.

The winter following those months proved very open; not much snow-fall, weather very cold. The ground was frozen, causing the roads to be in fine condition. All ore transportation was on wagons until the last days of March when a heavy fall of snow compelled the use of sleighs for a short period. There was no cessation in the erection of buildings during the winter. The roads from Carson remained in good condition, thereby contributing much to the growth and development of the town. H. M.

BODIE MINING HISTORY (Continued)

December 14, 1916

During the fall of '78 and winter of '78-'79 matters moved rapidly. In a very short time twenty-seven steam hoists had been erected, including those of the Standard, Bechtel and Bodie, erected previously; also whip and whips for hoisting purposes. All lines of endeavor were working at high pressure. Paydays were on the fifth of each month for labor, on the tenth for material, transportation, etc. Money was abundant. The larger portion of the people dealt in stocks, talked stocks, and, no doubt, dreamed of stocks. The daily papers each published a summary of the number of feet extended in the drifts, crosscuts, upraises and winzes, width of veins, etc. often reported in clean-cut ore, leaving the impression that all prospects were mines, wildcats included. Men with specimens of quartz exhibited them on the streets and in saloons. Assay offices were working to the limit. Hardly a

day passed that a new incorporation did not appear on the market. A number of lines of business opened to furnish lumber, timber and fuel, all of which, at that period, was transported on wagons. In addition, water was hauled up the hill to supply the hoisting engines.

The year prior to the completion of the Mono Lake railroad 45,000 cords of wood were required to supply the mills and hoisting works. The larger portion of the wood was packed on mules ere it reached wagon transportation. About this date an estimate was made of the number of animals employed in and around Bodie. The teams engaged in transporting lumber from the mills in the vicinity of Bridgeport numbered over 2,000 animals, this including packmules. It did not include the number engaged in the transportation business from Carson.

The population of that part of the country could hardly realize the new conditions; they were amazed to find themselves in the midst of so much activity. For a number of years the prevailing price of hay, when the growers could fortunately dispose of it, was \$5 to \$7 a ton; baled, \$8 to \$9. To have a demand for their crop, baled, on the ranch at \$18 to \$22, or delivered in Bodie, twenty miles distant, at \$30 to \$35, was assuredly a change from previous conditions. With money pouring into their coffers with so little effort, compared to former days, the booming stock market at Bodie offered supposed fortunes by the raise in values, the stock and dairy business became a thing of the past.

The Bodie location comprised 1,500 feet. During the spring or summer of '79 it was segregated. The south half was incorporated, with 50,000 shares par value \$100 each. The company was known as the Mono. It proceeded to erect extensive hoisting machinery and fine buildings, including blacksmith and carpenter shops and assay office. William Lent and John Boyd, the same gentlemen who promoted the Bodie, were its promoters. The Standard mine ere this had commenced disbursing dividends of one dollar per share on its capital stock of 50,000 shares. After two or three dividends the capital stock was increased to 100,000 shares, declaring monthly dividends of 75¢ per share on that amount of stock. The phenomenal success of Messrs. Lent and Boyd with the Standard and Bodie promotions, also the fact that the Mono was half of the original Bodie property, caused Mono stock to be much in demand. George Daily was then superintendent and was also superintendent of the Del Monte at Aurora.

In the spring of '78 a mill was erected down the canyon a short distance below the Syndicate. It had been removed from some other locality and was an old style mill, with ten stamps and the requisite number of pans for amalgamating purposes as then used in the reduction of silver ores. Its owners had a contract to reduce the Bechtel company's ores. This lasted but a short time; the report was that the mill did not reclaim the values. Late in the fall of that year the mill was sold to the Bodie company. It was remodeled and put in condition suitable for reduction of ores from the mines in camp. Shortly after that event a Mr. Fogus was installed as superintendent of mine and mill. It was during his administration that the second rich deposit was uncovered in that famous mine. Mr. Fogus was a man of much experience as a miner in Idaho and elsewhere.

The deposits in the Bruce and Burgess veins were nearly or quite exhausted at that date. Mr. Irwin, in former development, had drifted west from the original shaft and encountered the Bruce and Burgess bonanzas at a greater depth than the crosscut. Mr. Fogus started east. He had not proceeded very far when he cut a vein dipping east about thirty degrees, or perhaps less. This vein was known as the Fortuna. At this date the mill had been closed for some little time. The stock had decreased in value.

When this discovery was made, it was not generally known to the public. During the development a limited amount of ore was hoisted, filling the ore dump, also the house on its top. One morning the writer was consulted as to the condition of the camp and was informed that it was not desired that the public should know just the situation at the time, as to the condition and prospects of the mine. Examination of the dump showed that it would not be practicable to add any more weight. It was decided to remove, as quietly as possible, the ore to the mill.

On returning from Aurora the following morning I met Mr. Fogus's clerk down the canyon with the information that the ore dump had collapsed. The superintendent was very much excited and wished to have as many teams as possible put to work at once, moving the ore to the mill. The usual route was through the town. There was a road down the canyon but little used at the time. It was decided to utilize that, as far as possible, to keep the situation from the public. After thirty-six hours constant work, we had accomplished the removal. The fact of the teams being on the back road, and under guard, was plenty to arouse suspicion. It did not require much to start things humming. All sorts of rumors were going. The stock soon began to increase in value. Attempts were made to secure samples of ore from the wagons for the purpose of assays; excuses were offered for obtaining rides on the wagons by those who often approached the drivers. One can hardly conceive just the conditions existing during those stirring days. From that period the mill was in constant operation for several years.

Some weeks later Mr. Fogus came to the writer's office and wished to learn if there was any driver in my employ who could be trusted not to divulge what he might learn in connection with the moving of ore. He had a load of ore sacked down in the mine that he wished removed to the mill without the public being aware of the fact. It was decided that very early the next morning the team would be at the mine and the ore ready for loading. The team was there early and the ore was soon on the road. Mr. Fogus, Mr. Ferris, the clerk of the Bodie company, and the writer accompanied it. As there were no facilities for weighing the ore for the reason of traveling the so-called "back road", it was estimated at 10,000 pounds.

I was requested by Mr. Fogus to watch the ore pass through the batteries. It being very much decomposed, this did not require much time. On hanging up the stamps and opening those batteries there was a sight surely seldom witnessed. Were I to state the number of pounds of light shining gold then visible I would no doubt be called a cheerful liar and worthy candidate for the Ananias Club. Pieces of gold the size of quarters and dimes hammered flat by the stamps, in addition to the values recovered from the pulp in the tanks after passing through the pans, made the value of that load of ore almost fabulous. It still further verified Professor Silliman's prediction made in Aurora in 1865. The driver of that team is living; if he knew, he could boast of having driven a team loaded with one of the most valuable cargoes ever transported on a wagon. H. M.

BODIE MINING HISTORY (Continued)

December 21, 1916

The Miners' Union was organized in the spring or early summer of '78. They erected a large and commodious hall for their use, leasing it also for other purposes, including political meetings, conventions, etc. The union was a dominant factor in many of the activities of those days, including the

political fortunes of those aspiring to the honors and emoluments of public office.

The population of the town had increased to such an extent, in a very short period, that it dominated the other portions of the county in point of numbers. Very soon the subject was agitated and discussed for removing the county seat from Bridgeport to Bodie. Various ways were suggested as to the manner of making the attempt and achieving the object. The people of Bridgeport and vicinity were much exercised over the proposition as were other portions of the county as well, it being realized that should the question be submitted to a vote, nothing could prevent the removal.

A few of the leading citizens of the county, in addition to a few level-headed men of Bodie, including three or four of the superintendents, knowing the uncertainty of a town depending upon the one industry, mining, and the severe winters, regarded the prospect as not very alluring. While the discussion was taking place, the Supervisors, with some of the principal citizens, decided that a new courthouse erected at Bridgeport would settle the question. Accordingly the Supervisors made an order to that effect, calling for bids for the erection of a building suitable for the courts and officers of the county. The mining activity of Bodie, with other discoveries and locations of mining claims in other portions of the county, had caused a large increase in the amount of litigation and added very much to the business of the Superior Court. The Legislature was appealed to; a second department was added. A fine building was erected, with two court rooms, modern in all its appointments, and a fine vault with time lock for the County Treasurer. This settled the question as to the permanency of the county seat at Bridgeport.

The building had exceeded the original estimate. The contractor failed to complete the job, and his bondsmen were compelled to do so, causing some delay. It was not finished until March, 1881. In October, 1880, the tax levy for all purposes for the county of Mono, including the cost of the new courthouse, was six per cent. Much fault was found with this levy, particularly in and about Bodie. It demonstrated, however, the wisdom of the Supervisors, as the decline of Bodie commenced soon after.

About that time of the inception of the Standard Manufacturing Company, the construction of the railroad and mills near Mono Lake, an anti-Chinese league was formed to banish Chinamen from the county. A number of them were cutting wood, burning charcoal, cooking and running boarding houses at the mines and mills. An effort was made to boycott any and all who patronized them in any manner. A large force of Chinamen was employed on the construction of the railroad near the shore of the lake, some twelve or fifteen miles from town. There was no water on the line of the proposed road—a sandy, desolate, God-forsaken country. Water had to be transported on wagons for the use of the employees. The company had provided a small tugboat with a couple of barges to transport material across the lake to shorten wagon transportation to the point where the construction camp had been established near the hot springs on the shore of the lake.

The league was called together at Miners' Union Hall. With oratory, excitement and enthusiasm the slogan, "Chinamen must go", was raised. Volunteers were called for to run them from the county or into the lake as circumstances might arise. It was about ten in the evening when the climax was reached. The railroad people were aware of what was taking place. A couple of their men were awaiting results and developments. Horses were stationed between camp and town. When the edict was issued, the men for the company were off. Well mounted and with changes of horses on the road, they were soon

at camp. The bosses soon had the Chinamen, with their tools, provisions and water, on the barges headed for the island in the lake. It took some little time for the volunteers to procure mounts and transportation, while some went on foot. Not knowing just the situation, they left the town with much enthusiasm, well supplied with ammunition, principally in glass-most assuredly a very formidable array. About daylight the army of invasion arrived. Lo and behold, the Chinamen had vanished! Nothing but a desert awaited them. Tired and hungry, their ammunition exhausted, with nothing to eat and not even water to drink, they were a forlorn lot. The promised land was an island in plain view, but there were no boats to convey them over the dead sea. They were surely a sorry lot. It was a long, dreary march back to town-a sad, sad retreat, as they came straggling in in the evening. Later it was hard to find one of those who had formed one of that army of invasion. The activities of the league did not cause the Chinamen to leave the county or the town and vicinity. They met opposition not only from the Chinamen but from many of the citizens.

One circumstance that occurred: A certain Chinaman contracted to deliver 2,000 buckets of charcoal at a point where wagon transportation would be available. During the winter, the Chinaman had cut his wood out in the hills on land very sparsely covered with timber, not more than two and a half or possibly three cords per acre. In the spring, when he arrived with a few head of donkeys to pack the wood to the point of burning, a well known citizen of Mono county, learning of the situation, had, during the winter, purchased the land from the government. He stopped the Chinaman from removing the wood from the land. The writer was conversant with the above from the fact that he was the one who had the contract with the unfortunate Chinaman, had made some advances in purchasing sacks and for other purposes. In turn he had contracted the coal to others, causing him to be somewhat of an interested party. Later some land was purchased, enabling the Chinaman to fill his contract. The man who did the trick called himself a free American citizen-said he had a perfect right to acquire the land-that the Chinaman had no right to cut wood and supply coal. Am every proud to chronicle that the man was not native born, but a naturalized citizen of but few years residence.

H. M.

BODIE MINING HISTORY (Continued)

December 28, 1916

The year following the organization of the miners' union, a mechanics' union was organized, it including engineers, runners of hoisting engines, carpenters, blacksmiths and all tradesmen claiming to be skilled in any particular line of industry. It adopted an arbitrary wage scale somewhat in excess of the rates prevailing and demanded that all employers employing any of its members must pay the scale, regardless of conditions existing. At that period there were a number of small donkey engines located on the hills, sinking shafts for prospecting purposes. Many of them were wildcats. All had regular pay days, meeting promptly all demands for labor and material. The money of these was derived from assessments. The majority of them employed but few men, two or three on a shift. The engineer had but little to do, hoisting a few buckets of material on each shift in addition to the men employed. The union demanded that all engineers so employed receive the same wages, regardless of the size of engine or amount of material raised. Most of the properties ignored the demand. While some of the union men quit and some continued, there were a number who had not joined the union and continued

to work. The union would send notice to those not heeding their demand that if they did not comply, the union would proceed in a body and stop further work. As a result, a number of the small prospecting companies quit work, thereby throwing a number of miners' union men out of employment. Some of the companies hoisting ore were forced to curtail their output, thus threatening the closing of some of the mills. There was much talk some threats and much excitement.

The Mono mine had the largest and most extensive hoisting and pumping plant, also the largest number of men employed engaged exclusively in development work. George Daily was their superintendent. The employees of the Mono were satisfied with conditions and were willing to continue if assured of protection. If the mine were closed even for a short period, it would be flooded. Daily had been notified that if engineers did not quit or he comply with the demands of the union, the following morning at the change of shifts they would come and remove the men. There was a large amount of twelve and sixteen inch timber, sixteen feet long, piled near the works. During the night barricades five feet high were erected around the plant. The Stars and Stripes were hoisted on the staff of the works. Word was sent to the union that if they wanted the engineers, to come and get them.

When they arrived the following morning, they were much surprised to find the situation very different from what was expected; Daily was behind substantial breastworks with half a dozen men well armed, ready and more than willing to defend them; hoisting engines and pumps in operation, and the men in and about the works attending strictly to business. This put a much different phase on the proposition. A council of war was held. The union men adjourned to Miners' Union hall. A committee was appointed to wait on Daily the following morning, inviting him to Miners' Union hall to endeavor to compromise the matter. Daily informed the committee that, on the part of the Mono company, there was nothing to compromise.

About 10 o'clock the morning of the second day of the siege, the writer was sitting in Mr. Greeley's office discussing the strike, when looking from the window across the street, he observed Daily in front of Thaxter's drug store, walking to and fro on the sidewalk with his hands in his coat pockets, and, from his appearance, pondering on some subject. About this time I observed four men approaching from the direction of Miners' Union hall. As they approached Dailey, we stepped to the sidewalk to better observe what might take place. As they approached Dailey, he backed himself to the side of the building facing them. They were four large and husky fellows and looked very determined. One of the party commenced to talk to Daily, endeavoring to have him agree to go with them to the hall where they would endeavor to settle the question; they were willing to arbitrate. Daily informed them there was nothing to arbitrate as far as the Mono was concerned. We could hear the conversation that was taking place.

After much talk, the spokesman of the party, a large and burly Irishman in a loud tone of voice exclaimed, "Bys, bys, do your duty." At that Daily's hands came from his pockets. In each was a derring, both cocked, which was shoved in their faces. It forthwith appeared that those men's duty was up the streets toward Miners' Union hall. Mr. Daily did not accompany them.

The threatened closing of those properties doing development work; with a prospect of decreasing the output of ore and closing some of the mills, caused the miners' union to sit up and take notice. The miners' union claimed the employment of inexperienced hoisting engineers endangered their men, and issued an ultimatum to the mechanics' union to cease its tactics. That caused the matter to die very

quickly. The miners' union was a power that could not be ignored. There were many who lost positions they never recovered.

H. M.

(To be continued)

(Horace Marden died December 30, 1916)

(Additional articles Horace Marden wrote, but was not credited to him.)

8. PIONEER NEWSPAPERS, AND MINOR AURORA ITEMS

The first newspaper to be established in Aurora was Major E. A. Sherman's Esmeralda Star, a four page, five column weekly, priced at \$6 a year. Sherman was a Republican and wrote with all the vigor that characterized the war spirit. He was no less pronounced against toughs and thugs who were at that time making life a burden for decent folks in the camp and was in great danger of personal injury more than once. In fact, a hired assassin did wound him with a pistol ball. His plant was the same one later brought to Independence, and his historic press is in use in the Inyo Independent office to this day. The Star of May 2, 1863 notes the first anniversary of the paper's foundation and gives a lengthy history of the press. To take a few points therefrom: The machine was brought across the Isthmus of Panama in 1850. Judson Ames, its then owner, using it for a short time to print a paper in Panama while awaiting the arrival of a vessel by which to reach California. He came to San Francisco and was induced to move to San Diego, which place had great hopes of becoming the western terminus of the transcontinental railroad. *The San Diego Herald* was printed on it and, in that journal, appeared much of the writings of "John Phoenix", one of the State's earliest authors and humorists. In 1859 Ames moved to San Bernardino where he died a few years later, financially wrecked and broken in spirit. Before his death he sold the press to Sherman with this injunction: "If ever you let this press be used in publishing a rebel sheet or dispose of it to a traitor, my ghost shall haunt you as long as you live, and, when you die, 'Squibob' (Phoenix) shall act as a foreman in sending you across the Styx."

In April, 1861, Sherman began publishing the San Bernardino Patriot. The mines on which his hopes were based did not pay. The settled portion of the community was Southern in sympathy. The Mormons returned in numbers, and law and order conditions were such that printing a Union paper was extremely hazardous, and the venture died.

The next February Sherman packed up his outfit and started it up through Owens Valley to Aurora. The little party was threatened by Indians but secured a military escort from Colonel Evans and Lieutenant Noble. After being more than two months on the way, the team pulled into Aurora about the end of April. Sherman was then in Sacramento and left for the camp. On arriving he found that someone had already begun printing his paper, expressing sentiments wholly antagonistic to those of the owner; also that a debt charge existed and that he had to give a bill of sale of half the plant to secure its control. For nine months he "had to struggle against secession enemies in front and, at that same time, be yoked with one by compulsion in business," he says. His article details many hardships and notes the deep degree of hatred against the paper by those against the Union.

The Star became a semi-weekly June 24, 1863. In September its date line was changed from Mono County, California to Esmeralda County, Nevada. The following March the Star suspended, and John Hatch & Co. used the plant to start the Esmeralda Daily Union. J. B. Saxton was chief editor and J. G. McClinton, city editor. The paper was acquired by J. W. Avard in 1866. October, 1868 it suspended for lack of support. Just before its ending, Joe Wasson, later Mono-Inyo Assemblyman, was in charge during Avard's absence and, to wake up the town, changed the paper's politics from strong Republican to equally strong Democratic. The hoax aroused much attention. For the last three months before it quit. Avard did its work alone in every department.

Democratic tenets were upheld by the Aurora Times, started in April 1963, by R. E. Draper and R. Glenn as a weekly. It became a daily the next spring but suspended in November, 1864. Robert Ferral, later a judge in San Francisco, revived it, but its new life was but a few months in duration. While Draper was its editor, he managed to get into a duel with Dr. W. H. Eichelroth. The fight was staged at the Bodie ranch; weapons, shotguns loaded with ball, distance forty steps. The first exchange of shots did no harm, so the guns were loaded again. That round left Draper with a badly wounded foot, and he expressed himself as being amply satisfied.

Among the minor incidents of Aurora's history was the "famine of 1862." The winter of 1861-62 was severe. Rain and snow poured down almost continuously for fourteen days, and a correspondent writes that in Aurora a gulch with good fall ran level full of water during that time. He asserts that the top of one of the mills, forty-five feet high, stood but five feet above the snow around it. Sacramento was the nearest supply point, and communication with it, over the primitive roads, was wholly cut off. Lean beef and whole barley were the chief articles of provender available.

During 1863 and part of 1864 the camp's population was claimed to be 6,000. There were twenty stores, a dozen hotels, saloons galore. The surface richness began to give out, and many mines and mills suspended. In 1866 a \$40,000 fire reduced the standing buildings, and in 1873 ten more of them were burned at one time. The next milestone in the record was the attempted mining revived four or five years later. From then until recently the story was one of gradual decline.

9. DOGTOWN AND MONOVILLE. HOW DEADMAN CREEK GOT ITS NAME

More than twenty years before Marshall picked up at Coloma the nugget which drew the worlds attention to California, Jedediah Smith and his fellow trappers found gold near Mono Lake. Those picturesque adventurers thought enough of their discovery to tell of it afterward, but not enough to profit by it. A generation went by before anything was done to that region. In the meantime, the Mormons were doing the first actual mining of metals in eastern California, in their lone camps in the arid ranges reached from the San Bernardino trail.

When or by whom the rediscovery of gold was made in the eastern Sierra watershed is lost knowledge. In the spring of 1859, however, the little camp of Dogtown was in existence in the hills northwesterly from Mono lake; and it is well established that quite a number of miners were each taking a few dollars a day from that ground with rockers. The story goes that the little settlement, the only one in the State east of the great range, planned a holiday and general community jamboree on that Fourth of July. Perhaps that was not the exact outline in advance, but it was the anticipated result. A little trading post was running on a branch of the Walker river, selling liquor as well as other necessities, and that was to be the scene.

Small causes often led to large results. This trite reflection was then illustrated, for the program led to the abandonment of Dogtown in this manner: One of the miners had no taste for the program as laid out, with the consequences he believed would follow, so he set out in a different direction for a lengthy stroll toward Mono lake. After some hours trudging under the July sun, he sought shade and rest and stretched out, face down, in the shadow of a stone in a narrow and deep canyon. A spell of coughing came upon him, and, in the sand disturbed by his violently expelled breath, he saw grains of

gold. Stirring the soil with his fingers and blowing upon it as he did so, he uncovered more gold in a space the size of his hand than he could have mined in his Dogtown claim in a week. After staking out claims, he returned to camp and told his friends, who told theirs, and so on. Dogtown moved over bodily. Mono Diggings, or Monoville, was laid out as a town and became the objective point of as much of a rush as the sparsely inhabited wilderness could originate.

A few claims paid well, and there was a fair amount of life in the little collection of huts and tents. As in early California and in Alaska, gold dust was currency. To this day the traveler through those hills can see the scars of early workings as well as where later ventures have failed to duplicate the success of pioneer times.

The record of Monoville merges, like a dissolving view, into the story of the famous Lost Cement Mine. The camp was the starting point for searching parties for that mysterious deposit of riches-of which more hereafter.

Among the men in Monoville in the summer of 1860 was a man giving his name as Farnsworth. He professed to have found a rich claim while hunting the cement on the headwaters of Owens river. Offering to share the find with anyone who would assist him in working it, he secured the aid of a partner whose name is not given in the stories. The two went forth; Farnsworth came back; his companion did not, nor was he ever satisfactorily accounted for, though there is not proof that foul play in his case was charged.

Farnsworth next fell in with a man named Robert Hume from Carson. Hume had \$700 with him, and it was known that he agreed that if the mine turned out as Farnsworth claimed, he would furnish enough money to bring a small mill over from Mariposa county and work the ore. Farnsworth again came back to Monoville; this time hatless and riding Hume's horse. He said Indians had attacked them, had killed Hume and wounded himself. In proof, he exhibited a bullet wound in the calf of his leg and some cuts in his clothing. Suspicion was aroused by powder burns around the wound, and Farnsworth was placed under arrest, so wrote L. A. Spitzer, a Monoville miner at the time, but for many years later Assessor of Santa Clara county, California. Spitzer's account was that a party of thirty set out on Farnsworth's tracks and, at the north branch of Owens river, found Hume's body and severed head, separately buried under piles of stones.

W. A. Bailey, for many years a respected citizen of Inyo, told a somewhat different, and more dramatically shocking, version. He said that two prospectors camped on the river after dusk one evening. In the stream nearby, they saw what they thought to be a short log which one of them tried to pull out for use at the campfire. "It's a dead man," he yelled, promptly letting go. They tied a rope to the leg of the corpse and dragged it into the firelight and found it to be headless. Hasty burial was given, and the men left for Monoville.

They found that Farnsworth's story of Indian attack was believed. A party of thirty men was made up to punish the Indians. Its leader was Lee Vining, whose name is borne by one of the streams in Mono lake basin. Near Owens river they captured two Indians who were held until later developments proved their innocence. Some of the scouts of the expedition overtook Bailey and a companion named Peoples on the trail and took them back to the party as prisoners and, as such, held them until they gave satisfactory evidence of their movements. Bailey took part in the further investigation.

The body was raised from where the prospectors had buried it. A hole and a knife stab was found in its back. On one finger was a gold ring with the name of Robert Hume inside. The body was again buried, and all but four or five of the Monoville men went back to that camp. Bailey went with them and brought back a supply of provisions for a continued search for the missing head. Near the Farnsworth camp a log was found that had recently been turned in its bed. On turning it over, it was found to show ax cuts to which bits of flesh, bone and human hair adhered as well as stains of blood. Tracks were found heading to the creek, and brush marks showed that efforts had been made to cover them up. In the ashes of the campfire were buttons from burned clothing and a pocket knife.

Holes in the creek were dragged in an effort to locate the head. Finally a spur tied to a pole, which an Indian handled, caught in its hair and dragged it to the surface, face up. As the ghastly object came into view the native dropped his pole and fled. Bailey drew it forth. It was taken to Monoville, identified as Hume's and buried. The hydraulics washed it out later, and it was again buried. Yet once more it came to light in 1879 and is said to have been found to be petrified.

During the absence of Vining's expedition, Farnsworth escaped from his flimsy prison. He was afterward seen in Honey Lake Valley, but from then on disappeared from the knowledge of those interested in his capture.

The stream in which the body and head were found has ever since been known as Deadman creek.

6. TALES OF THE PIONEERS - COLUMBUS

(Possibly written by W. A. Chalfant, Editor of *Inyo Register* from an account by Horace Marden.)

At a point where there is probably now not even a whistling post, travelers on the Tonopah and Goldfield railroad may behold a white marsh near which stands a small huddle of melancholy ruins, all that is left of the once busy camp of Columbus. A few miles away is what is left of Candelaria; and not far off is the abandoned site of Belleville, heedless and lawless as the others in its time. All were camps in Columbus district, Nevada, and the history of each has a bearing on the others.

Candelaria's mining deposits gave the beginning when in August, 1864, seven Mexicans made the first locations. Their claim was named the Jesus Maria, which title seems to have been about the first in mind when any of that people made a new discovery. The Columbus district was organized that same month; its records were in English, though nearly all those who took part were Mexicans. Americans, Germans and Slavonians were added to the population that year, and many locations were made. Among the early comers were W. H. Virden, later Superior Judge in Mono county; L. R. Bradbury, known as "Broadhorns" when he became Nevada's Governor; and Alf Dotan, afterward a prominent editor in the Silver State.

The Owens Valley Indians war was then in progress, and Indians had a disagreeable habit of bushwhacking lone prospectors; so one of the acts of the first miners' meeting was to decide that officers of Columbus district could reside outside of its boundaries until remaining on the ground became less perilous.

Matters drifted along without much activity for months. In May of 1865 a location was named the Candelaria; and that name was given to the discovery camp. In October two locations were made by A. J. Holmes, M. C. Hubbard, Francis Soto and Edmund Griffin. With fine impartiality, considering that the

Civil War was just ending, the prospects received names of Northern Belle and Southern Belle. So little was done with them, however, that the assessment work necessary to hold them was neglected, and they were not again claimed until 1870.

Colonel Youngs, a prominent Aurora resident, came to believe that if a mill were convenient, much Candelaria ore would be worked. He loaded wagons with a four-stamp mill and headed for Columbus marsh, the nearest where water, though of interior quality, could be had for milling. Going down a canyon, a cloudburst happened, the teamsters having only time to abandon everything and scramble up the mountainside. Teams, wagons and loads were swept down the canyon and out on the plain, and more or less buried in sand. Eventually Youngs recovered enough to set up a plant. Holmes had formed a partnership with him; before operations began the partners got into a row from which Youngs emerged as sole owner. In the meantime, in anticipation of the building of milling headquarters, a population of 200 persons had established a degree of residence there.

One of the reasons, besides having water available, for the selection of the Columbus millsite was the fact that, in the vague ideas of ore reduction then prevailing, salt was supposed to be of value in aiding amalgamation. Any amount of saline material covered the marsh. There was another substance present: ulexite, or "cottonball" borax. This became, in later years, the chief reason for what life remained in Columbus; but in that time the material was not known to have any value beyond that of the chloride of sodium it contained.

Youngs does not appear to have made much of a success of his mill; at any rate, in 1870, a party of men who had been working at Palmetto, had no difficulty in leasing the plant. A rich strike had just been made in the Mt. Diablo mine, and the leasers kept their mill so busy that it was a wreck by the end of the year. The ore must have been good for it paid well after meeting a working charge of \$60 a ton. Youngs sent to Aurora for Horace Marden, well known to many in Bishop as well as elsewhere east of the Sierras, to come and rebuild the plant. Marden made a trip in a winter storm, finally reaching Columbus after leaving his wagon on the mountain with a broken axle. In a letter to the Register years afterward, he pictured the camp. (See Marden's own writing of March 30, 1916)

"The town at that time consisted of a few small buildings, principally of concrete so called-constructed of ground from alongside the buildings. When mixed with water, it formed a mortar which when in place soon became hard. There were some tents, and two so-called hotels, but no beds or lodging houses. There were four dispensaries where one could get the necessary stimulants if he had the price, 25-no credit. The principal hotel, owned by A. Spencer, later of Bishop, consisted of a building, 14' by 20' in which were a bar, a few stools and a card table; in the rear a dining room and kitchen. It was a frame structure, covered with canvas, old carpet and discarded ore sacks. As wind was very prevalent, often when dining gravel of various sizes would be encountered. This was later discovered to be no detriment to one's digestion, under existing conditions."

After doing the best he could to make Young's mill over into a working plant, the owner wanted Marden to take full charge of it. The venture was not tempting, but, on a guarantee against loss, he consented and ran it until better plants were built.

Teams hauled ore from Candelaria, also making some side change by hauling good water at \$1.50 a barrel. Yields of \$200 to \$300 a ton from the ore made it profitable for all concerned, and Columbus

experienced quite a boom. After a few months running, the boiler of the steam engine was in such a condition that no more ore was accepted. Hazeltine & Sweetapple and the Columbus M. and M. Co. put up mills and there after controlled such business.

During his residence there, Marden wrote, Columbus became some town. Lively days arrived. A population of 1,000 was recorded by a history of Nevada. When the number of residents had later fallen to 100, the listed number of saloons was 6, so the total when times were good must have been plenty.

While such places of refreshment were numerous, the town boasted no butcher shop. Beef was kept on the hoof in Fish Lake Valley; and at regular intervals two or three animals at a time were driven across the hills and plains to Columbus. Men with rifles awaited their being herded to the usual killing place and dropped them on arrival. The animals were dressed, each customer received his allotment, and the offal was left to be disposed of by the town dogs and the coyotes.

Holmes, one of the original locators of the later rich Northern Belle mine and loser in litigation over the Youngs mill, reached such financial straits that he was refused credit in Columbus and wrathily declared that he would make grass grow in the streets. In his impecunious condition, the threat was quite humorous; but when in 1873 a big strike was made in the Northern Belle and Holmes came into money enough to pipe water fifteen miles from the White mountains, put up and a then modern mill and start the town of Belleville, Holmes' resentment became a serious matter.

Borax mining at Teel's Marsh had begun and investigation found that the marsh at Columbus carried the same material which was then selling at 30¢ a pound in carload lots. The Pacific Coast Borax Company began on the Columbus marshes, at a point five miles from the town, in 1872. The first discovery was made by one William Troup. New life came to the failing camp. W. W. Barnes, who had earlier started a paper called the Columbus Times and had been forced to suspend because of lack of patronage, came back and established a creditable paper call the Borax Miner, a title significant of the change in character of local industry. From 1872 to 1875 were the best years there.

"Hard-boiled" though the place was, one of its crimes resulted in one of the very few legal hangings for murder in the Nevada of that period. Frank Durand was slain by "Bully" Johnny Stewart; whether the quoted title, used by Stewart himself, was a tribute to his overbearing qualities or a then current slang term of approval is only surmise. Stewart was executed in Aurora in April, 1874, almost a year after the killing.

Another case was disposed of by the residents themselves, with less delay. On the last day of 1873, a dance was in progress. But two women were present, one an American girl who had come from Fish Lake Valley to honor the occasion, the other a Chilian woman who played the guitar as part of the music. All others on the floor were men, half of them becoming "ladies" by tying handkerchiefs around their arms.

When the revelry was at its height, a man named Victor Monega came into the place and objected to the woman continuing to play. Receiving no attention, he seized and smashed the guitar. A restaurant keeper named Antonio Rivara, a respected citizen, remonstrated with Monega, whereupon the latter drew a large knife, made from a file, and stabbed Rivara to death. Monega fled but was trailed and caught and put in confinement.

The local officers were William S. Phillippay and E. W. Read, both later residents of Bishop. Several citizens took them in charge while others gave attention to the murderer. He was taken from the little jail and to the butcher's windlass, which was used at the slaughtering grounds, and hanged. Then the officers were released and were told what had happened. All hands had a few friendly drinks, and the lynchers were advised to go and cut the body down. It was a bright moonlight night, and the fatal gibbet was visible from any part of the street. They came back and reported that they couldn't find the place. More drinks followed, and the men were sent out to try again. They started to lower the body, and it gave a convulsive kick whereupon they desisted and again reported inability to find it. There was more drinking over the joke on Monaga. In the morning the body was cut down and thrown into a hole in the ground.

The lynchers were somewhat chagrined a few days later when a San Bernardino officer arrived looking for Monega. The latter had murdered a family in San Bernardino county, and, under the stimulus of a thousand dollars reward for his arrest, he had been traced to Columbus. The body was exhumed and identified; but the reward for his arrest was unclaimed. No other inquiry was made into the affair.